CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

HORACE

ODES

BOOK II

EDITED BY STEPHEN HARRISON

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Corpus Christi College, Oxford

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107012912

First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Horace, author. | Harrison, S. J., editor.
Odes book II / Horace ; edited by Stephen Harrison.
Carmina. Liber 2 | Cambridge Greek and Latin classics.
Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2017. |
Series: Cambridge Greek and Latin classics
LCCN 2016044122 | ISBN 9781107012912 (hardback)
LCSH: Latin poetry History and criticism.
LCC PA6393.C42 2017 | DDC 874/.01 dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016044122

ISBN 978 1 107 01291 2 Hardback
ISBN 978 1 107 60070 4 Paperback

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PREFACE

I am most grateful to Philip Hardie, Michael Sharp and Cambridge University Press for commissioning this commentary and for their patience in waiting for it amid my many other duties and commitments, and to Philip (again) and Stephen Oakley for their valuable comments, editorial tolerance and kind guidance which considerably improved my text. At the copy-editing stage Muriel Hall ironed out many small wrinkles and I thank her warmly.

All commentaries on canonical works of Latin literature have a high tralatitious element, but a commentary on Horace *Odes* 2 must lean especially heavily on Nisbet and Hubbard's classic work of a generation ago (1978), cited in this commentary as N–H. Readers will find considerable erudition on many topics there which I have not repeated in full here. I have tried to indicate by explicit cross-references where its notes are especially important or controversial, but I have also added my own layer of analysis and interpretation and provided new and updated material. My personal debt to Robin Nisbet is even deeper, as I had the benefit of his notes and criticism on my draft commentaries on a number of poems before his death in May 2013, as well as of his advice and help over many years; for my tribute to him and his work see *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy* XIII (2014) 365–82 (online at www.britac.ac.uk/memoirs/).

Rapid increases in information technology since 1978 have eased the work of the commentator in a number of significant ways; some of us can still remember what it was like not to have tools with which the whole of Latin literature and the related scholarship could be instantly searched. I would like to mention especially the splendid Oslo database of conjectures on Horace now available freely online (www.tekstlab.uio.no/horace/) and cited in the commentary as 'Oslo database', to which I am fortunate to have had access from its beginning (my thanks to Monika Asztalos for her kind help). The advent of the complete Oxford Latin Dictionary since N–H has allowed me to be economical with parallels, and I have generally only cited the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae where OLD needs supplementation. In terms of bibliography, I have been more concerned with publications later than N–H, since they list the major items published earlier, and debate has often moved on; a full listing of items on Horace for the period 1957–2007 can be found in Niklas Holzberg's excellent online

bibliography at www.niklasholzberg.com/Bibliographien, and for the period since 2007 at www.annee-philologique.com (by subscription).

Crucial material support has come from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which has generously granted regular sabbaticals and a term of unpaid research leave. I am also very grateful to two munificent US institutions: the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, whose trustees made a substantial grant which enabled me to begin the major work on this project in the academic year 2009–10 (with particular thanks to Richard Thomas), and to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, that true paradise for scholars, which awarded me Membership and a generous Edwin C. and Elizabeth A. Whitehead Fellowship for January–March 2015 (with particular thanks to Angelos Chaniotis); the commentary was substantially completed in that splendid community. Material from the commentary in progress has been presented in various forms at the Scuola Superiore Normale di Pisa, the University of Cambridge, the University of Newcastle, the University of São Paulo (USP), the University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Columbia University, Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, Harvard University, the University of Texas at Austin, the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków. I am most grateful to all these audiences for helpful discussion and comment, especially to Gian Biagio Conte at Pisa for inviting me to give the Lezioni Comparetti in 2010, to Denis Feeney and his graduate class on the *Odes* in Princeton in Spring Term 2015, to Richard Thomas and Albert Henrichs at Harvard, to David Kovacs and Tony Woodman at Virginia and to Jerzy Danielewicz in Kraków (the last particularly for his metrical advice).

I am most grateful to Andrea Cucchiarelli, who read the whole commentary in final draft and made many helpful comments, and to Gesine Manuwald and Stephen Heyworth who also read and commented on parts of it. My warm thanks also go to Fiachra Mac Góráin for his Dionysiac expertise on 2.19, to Henry Spelman for sending me an advance copy of an important new article on 2.8, to Thea Thorsen for advice on Sappho in 2.20, to Alan Griffiths for sharing with me unpublished work on 2.5, and to my former colleagues at IAS Princeton, Angelos Chaniotis, Ted Lendon and John Marincola, all of whom gave me significant advice and material on 2.1.

S. J. H.
October 2015

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The commentary makes use of the following abbreviations for other commentaries on the *Odes*; full publication details are to be found in Works Cited.

F C	Fedeli and Ciccarelli 2008
K H	Kiessling and Heinze 1930
Mayer	Mayer 2012
N H I	Nisbet and Hubbard 1970 (NB 'N H I.xiii' = 'p. xiii of the introduction to Nisbet and Hubbard 1970', 'N H on 1.13.1' = 'Nisbet and Hubbard's note on *Odes* 1.13.1')
N H II	Nisbet and Hubbard 1978
N R	Nisbet and Rudd 2004
Porphyrio	Holder 1894 (see Diederich 1999)
Ps. Acro	Keller 1902 (see Kalinina 2007)
Quinn	Quinn 1980
Syndikus	Syndikus 2001
Thomas	Thomas 2011

Standard commentaries on other texts are cited by the author's name only (e.g. 'Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.1'); full details are again to be found in Works Cited. Abbreviations for authors and text collections generally follow the style of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (2nd edn, 2012 = *OLD*) and Liddell, Scott and Jones (9th edn, 1940 = LSJ, with some updating); other abbreviations use the style of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edn, 2012 = *OCD*). In the text of the commentary, 'Introduction' means this introduction, while 'introduction above' means the introduction to the poem under commentary. 'Classical Latin' means the period covered by *OLD* and the PHI database (= Packard Humanities Institute, online at http://latin.packhum.org/about), i.e. until *c.*200 CE.

INTRODUCTION

1 DATING OF *ODES* 2

Books 1 3 of the *Odes* of Horace (hereafter 'H.') are presented as a unified collection: the first and last poems (1.1 and 3.30) have the character of a prologue and an epilogue respectively, and are matched as the only poems in the three books in their unusual metre (stichic asclepiads).[1] Scholars have generally agreed that the collection emerged as a unit about 23 BCE; but it has been suggested more recently that its individual books might also have been published separately in chronological order.[2] This suggestion fits *Odes* 2, the central book of the collection, where the poet seems to be reacting in particular to Virgil's *Georgics*, published *c.*29 BCE (see section 4 below), and where the latest identifiable date mentioned is the passing of the poet's fortieth birthday in the December of 25 BCE (2.4.22 4). The few topical indications in the book suit the period 28 25 well. The reference to the restoration of Phraates IV to the throne of Parthia in 2.2 points to 25 (see 2.2, introduction), while the allusions to the wars against the Cantabrians in Spain in 2.6 and 2.11 fit 29 26 (see 2.6 and 2.11, introduc tions), and the reference to the *princeps*' campaigns at 2.9.19 24 and his naming as Augustus point to 27 or soon after (see 2.9, introduction), while 2.12 seems to look to a period soon after 28 (see 2.12, introduction), and the allusions to Rome's enemies in 2.20.18 20 (see n.) look to a date of 28 25.

2 HORACE'S LITERARY CAREER

The chronology and sequence of Horace's works is largely agreed. *Satires* 1 belongs to around 36/35 BCE,[3] *Satires* 2 and *Epodes* to around 30/29 BCE,[4] *Odes* 1 3 to 23 BCE (with possible earlier separate publication),[5] *Epistles* 1 to 20/19 BCE,[6] the *Carmen Saeculare* to 17 BCE, and *Odes* 4 to 14/13 BCE.[7] Only the date of *Epistles* 2 and the *Ars Poetica* have been a matter of debate:

[1] This introduction draws freely on my previous work on H., especially Harrison 2007c, 2010, 2012 and 2014a.

[2] Hutchinson 2008: 131 61.

[3] See *S.* 1.10.86 with Gowers 2012: 336 (the presence of Bibulus in Rome in the winter of 36 35 is a dating point). In general *Satires* 1 seems to belong to the period of peace after the battle of Naulochus (September 36).

[4] Both clearly after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra in autumn 30 but before the triumphal return of the young Caesar in autumn 29.

[5] Though the usual marker of the suffect consulship of Sestius in 23 (Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: xxxv vii) has now been doubted by Hutchinson 2008: 138.

[6] After Tiberius' Eastern settlement of 20 (*Ep.*1.12.26 7): cf. Mayer 1994: 8 11.

[7] Before Augustus' return to Rome in 13: see *Odes* 4.5 and Thomas 2011: 5 7.

Epistles 2.1 is clearly dated to after 12 BCE with its address of Augustus as sole ruler (after the death of Agrippa in that year), but *Epistles* 2.2 has often been dated together with the first book of *Epistles* to 19 BCE. Recent research has suggested that *Epistles* 2.1 and 2.2 both belong to the period after 12 and that they may have originally been intended to be combined with the *Ars Poetica* in a single final book.[8]

The tracing of the trajectory of Horace's poetic career has now largely displaced the reconstruction of his biography in contemporary scholar ship. This seems a reasonable step, as most of the poet's traditional biography is reconstructed from the texts of the poems, which are com plex literary artefacts rather than records of real life.[9] Classical scholars share this interest in poetic careers with scholars of Renaissance literature, whose authors were of course responding to the evident self fashioning of poetic careers by Virgil, Horace and Ovid.[10]

The three earliest books of Horatian poetry begin from self consciously low literary predecessors: *Satires* 1 and 2 pick up the hexameter *sermo* of Lucilius, the humble and parodic cousin of hexameter epic, looking at least momentarily to lowly Attic Old Comedy as a Greek parallel (*Sat.* 1.4.1 6),[11] while the *Epodes* take on the rumbustious and low life world of archaic Archilochean iambus.[12] This constructs a poetic career as beginning near the bottom of the generic scale: such self positioning, along with the elements of aggression fundamental to both these low genres, nicely fits a poet who starts the period as an angry young man who has suffered real worldly dispossession. In *Satires* 2 and the *Epodes* we find the first example of Horace's working on more than one poetic genre simultaneously. This 'horizontal' aspect is an interesting part of Horace's poetic career: such an implicit self construction as a poet who operates on more than one generic front suggests the *poikilia* or generic versatility for which Callimachus represents himself as criticised in the first of his *Iambi*, a collection which is certainly significant for Horace's *Epodes*.[13] Though published after Actium, the *Epodes* show the whole extent of the movement from outsider to insider : the aggressive, Archilochean analyses of the ills

[8] Fully set out in Harrison 2008, following a suggestion in Kilpatrick 1990: xi; similar views are stated independently in Holzberg 2009: 28 9. Williams 1972: 38 9 also argued briefly that the three poems belonged in one book, but dated that book to soon after 17 BCE. The later dating of *Epistles* 2.2 has now been endorsed by e.g. Nisbet 2007: 18, Günther 2013: 48, and Rudd 2007.

[9] See e.g. Harrison 2007c. We do have an ancient life of H. which may go back to Suetonius, but it is plainly heavily dependent on the works and tells us little beyond some basic biographical facts: see e.g. the analysis of Harrison 2014a: 9 13.

[10] See especially Hardie and Moore 2010, with Harrison 2010 on Horace.

[11] On Old Comedy in the satires see now Ferris Hill 2015.

[12] On H. and Archilochus in the *Epodes* see conveniently Watson 2003: 4 11.

[13] See Watson 2003: 12 17.

of Rome in *Epodes* 7 and 16, which have plausibly been suggested as the poems which triggered Horace's recruitment into the Maecenatic circle,[14] turn into equally Archilochean celebrations of the victory at Actium in *Epodes* 1 and 9, both addressed in warm terms to Maecenas, which recall Archilochus' poems of friendship and shipboard action in war.[15]

This first and formative phase of Horace's poetic career, then, is marked by a rhetoric of literary and socio political ascent. Horace rises from the humble exponent of rough Lucilian satire, refining it in Callimachean terms, through Archilochean iambus, tempered for new times, to the brink of lyric operations, matching his movement from Republican defeat at Philippi and loss of property to the generous patron age of Maecenas and political engagement with the interests of the young Caesar.

Though as we have seen (section 1 above) it is possible that it was also published serially in single books, the collection of *Odes* 1 3 which emerged as a unit about 23 BCE should be conceived as a single stage in Horace's poetic career. At the end of 1.1, itself constructed on the basis of a priamel framework from early Greek lyric, Horace famously asks for inclusion in the canon of Greek lyric poets (1.1.29 36), and at the end of 3.30 he suggests that he has done enough to deserve this honour (3.30.10 16). One subject of justifiable pride in his lyric achievement in *Odes* 1 3 is Horace's dexterous employment of Aeolic Greek lyric metres. There is clearly an ascent in complexity from the simple hexameters of the two books of *Satires* and the identical epodic metres of *Epodes* 1 10, though the more mixed metres of *Epodes* 11 17 (one of which (the first Archilochean) reappears in the *Odes: Epode* 12 ~ *Odes* 1.7 and 1.28) are some kind of anticipation of this move. This metrical prowess is famously stressed by the use of nine different metres for the first nine odes of Book 1, followed by a sequence of poems (12 18) in which thematic elements appear from an identifiable range of individual Greek lyric poets.[16] This appreciable technical step in Horace's career is thus strongly marked in a major group of initial poems.

Between the challenge of *Odes* 1.1 and its fulfilment in *Odes* 3.30 there is some sense of internal ascent and onward movement. The initial window display of the adaptation of Greek lyric through metre and themes just noted is followed in Book 2 by a more moderate approach to both metre and subject matter (see section 3 below): a set of topics in which moral philosophy is prominent is treated in twenty poems which in the first ten simply alternate the commonest Horatian lyric metres (the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas), while as the book comes to a close, it shows some anticipation of the national and grave themes of the Roman Odes at the

[14] See Nisbet 1984. [15] See Harrison 2007b: 106 14. [16] See Lowrie 1995.

beginning of Book 3. In particular, the substantial and earnest 2.18, with its criticism of luxury and commendation of the poet's own modest sufficiency in the Sabine estate, looks forward to the themes and scale of *Odes* 3.1 (see commentary). In *Odes* 3, there is a clear elevation of content:[17] the opening sequence of six lengthy Roman Odes tackles major themes of politics and public morality in an enigmatic style which combines a vatic, oracular stance with elements of higher poetic genres, while several other poems later in the book narrate myths associated with tragedy (Hypermestra in 3.11, Danae in 3.16) or epyllion (Europa in 3.27).

The first book of *Epistles* presents a conscious contrast with the first collection of *Odes*. Its opening programmatic poem claims that Horace has renounced the frivolities of poetry for the serious concerns of philosophy (1.1.7 12). The pose of not writing poetry is surely ironic in this book of carefully crafted hexameters, and forms part of a consistent ambiguity about the poetic status of Horatian *sermo*. The collection's overt shape as a letter collection, though picking up epistolary elements in Lucilius, points to a conspicuous genre of prose literature, as does its philosophical content (though one should not underestimate the influence of Lucretius' philosophical poem), but in terms of Horace's poetic career *Epistles* 1 represents a conscious return to the *sermo* of the 30s, in a slicker, more varied poetry book: the greater number of items (20 in *Epistles* 1 as opposed to 10 and 8 in *Satires* 1 and 2) reflects not only the relative brevity conventional for the letter but also a poet who has in the last decade produced eighty eight lyric poems in three books.

The turn from Horatian lyric form is matched by a partial turn from Horatian lyric *persona*. Though Horace can still describe himself as *Epicuri de grege porcum* ('a porker from Epicurus' herd', *Epistles* 1.4.16) and can still suggest (in the same poem, at 1.4.13) that each day should be treated as one's last in the true Epicurean style, the poet's hedonistic involvement in the sympotic and erotic world of *Odes* 1 3 has indeed vanished, and the poet is presented as a trainee moral philosopher who encourages his friends along the same road by appearing equally fallible rather than a stern and superior sage. The themes of love, drinking and politics linked with lyric in the style of Alcaeus (*Odes* 1.32.1 12) are replaced by concerns with ethics, friendship and patronage, all part of moral philosophy in Roman terms. This is best seen in two pairs of poems where an addressee is shared between the two collections. Horace's friend Fuscus can be teased for his Stoicism in both *Odes* 1.22 and *Epistles* 1.10, but where the former poem then turns to Horace's own comic love affair with Lalage, the latter poem develops an ethical argument about living according to nature. Likewise, the Quinctius invited to put away political

[17] See Lowrie 1997: 224 316.

concerns and attend a symposium in *Odes* 2.11 (see comm.) is in *Epistles* 1.16 invited (via a description of Horace's Sabine estate) to match good reputation with good actions and determined moral character. Again, the political themes prominent in *Odes* 1 3 and soon to be central to *Odes* 4 are introduced only briefly and incidentally: the military doings of Agrippa, Tiberius and Augustus are added as mere epistolary topical references at the end of *Epistle* 1.12 (25 9), while Augustus is further alluded to only in celebrating his birthday (*Epistles* 1.5) and as a recipient of a presentation copy of the first collection of *Odes* (*Epistles* 1.13).

Horace's commission to write a lyric poem (conventionally labelled the *Carmen Saeculare*) for performance by a mixed choir of boys and girls at Augustus' ideologically crucial *ludi saeculares* of 17 BCE, celebrating the renewal of the *saeculum* or generation of 110 years, represents an anomaly in his career: it is a one off lyric piece outside a collection, and written in a choral rather than a monodic mode.[18] Its link with the Greek lyric genre of paean is clear, but its importance in Horace's poetic career is not so much for its literary qualities as for its status as an occasional poem commis sioned for an express politico religious occasion, and the Suetonian *Life* suggests the hand of the *princeps* himself in Horace's selection. The death of Virgil in 19 BCE had left Horace as the unchallenged chief poet of Rome, and the *Carmen Saeculare* clearly presents him as a kind of laureate, addressing the gods on behalf of the Roman state on a public occasion of the highest profile.

This externally motivated resumption of Horatian lyric seems to have led to a further period of production in the genre (this time in its monodic form) which culminated in the fourth book of fifteen Odes a few years later. The book begins by figuring itself as a return to love (and therefore lyric love poetry), presented as inappropriate for a man past fifty (4.1.6 7); accordingly, love and its sympotic context appear again only in the sequence of poems 4.10 13, while the rest of the book is dedicated to weightier themes, for example the Pindaric style poems in praise of the victories of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus (*Odes* 4.4 and 4.14), or the two highly encomiastic poems addressing Augustus directly, 4.5 and 4.15. In this book H. emerges as a mature poet at the zenith of his career who has established himself in a public and national role. The older poet who advises the younger literary aspirant Iullus Antonius in *Odes* 4.2 is a recognisable anticipation of the national authority on poetry in the didactic mode of the second book of *Epistles* and the *Ars Poetica*, to which I now turn.

As noted above, the three poems *Epistles* 2.1, 2.2 and *Ars Poetica* seem to belong together in the final phase of Horace's poetic career, a closural return to the form of hexameter *sermo* with which he began in *Satires* 1.

[18] For recent guidance see Thomas 2011.

This sense of a final phase in a distinguished career is accentuated by several features of these three poems as a group: all three poems deal with the theme of poetry in general from a didactic angle, all three share a sense of Horace's self location in the Roman literary tradition, and all three deal with the theme of the usefulness of the poet and of Horace in particular to the community of Rome (2.1.124, 2.2.121, *Ars Poetica* 396 401). Perhaps most tellingly, it is in these poems that Horace gives us the fullest retrospective on his poetic career, augmenting the account in *Epistles* 1.19 (see *Epistles* 2.2.59 60, *AP* 79 85).

Odes 2, then, belongs to the central lyric phase of H.'s long and carefully modulated poetic career.

3 CHARACTERISTICS OF *ODES* 2

(a) The ordering and topics of the poems

Scholarship on the ordering of poems in the *Odes* has sometimes aspired to produce complete and inclusive schemes in which each poem can be related significantly to its neighbours.[19] A contrasting cautionary note here was struck by Nisbet and Hubbard: 'Yet it is only too easy to imagine some subtle principle either of similarity or difference in every juxtaposition, not to mention more complicated sequences and cycles. Most of these suggestions seem completely fanciful, and equally ingenious reasons could be adduced to justify any arrangement.'[20] In what follows I pursue something of a middle way between these two positions in suggesting some significance in the order of poems in *Odes* 2, but not a complete and elaborate scheme which involves each and every poem.[21]

The poems of Book 2 seem to show some groupings which express both similarity and contrast thematically. A linear reading of the book might emerge with the following, in which repeated themes are underlined and linked consecutive poems are put together:

2.1 Pollio, writer of history and tragedy, link with civil wars
2.2 Sallust, nephew of writer of the history of civil wars
2.3 Dellius, famous side changer in civil wars, Antonian historian; symposium
2.4 Xanthias, young rich Greek, and his lover
2.5 Potential lover, girl too young
2.6 Septimius, old friend and the future

[19] See e.g. Dettmer 1983, Santirocco 1986, Porter 1987, Minarini 1989.
[20] Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: xxiv.
[21] There are valuable observations on thematic links in the book in Cucchiarelli 2006.

2.7 Pompeius, old friend and Philippi (civil wars); symposium
2.8 Barine, living irresistible lover
2.9 Valgius, writer of elegy and his dead lover; advice to a friend (praise of Caesar)
2.10 Licinius, ethical advice to a friend
2.11 Quinctius, ethical advice to a friend; symposium
2.12 Maecenas, potential historian, literary advice to a friend (praise of Caesar) and love
2.13 The tree: near death of the poet, immortality of Sappho and Alcaeus in the underworld
2.14 Postumus, future death and the underworld
2.15 no addressee, anti luxury, ethical advice
2.16 Grosphus, anti luxury, ethical advice to a friend
2.17 Maecenas near death, friendship and loyalty
2.18 anonymous addressee, anti luxury diatribe, ethical advice
2.19 Bacchus, literary/fantastic poem, underworld scene
2.20 Maecenas, friendship, literary/fantastic poem

This scheme shows that there are groups of poems with common themes. 2.1 3 are linked by the civil wars and the writing of history, all addressed to real historical figures (Sallustius in 2.2 cannot be separated from his famous adoptive father here: see commentary), 2.4 5 are paired as two lighter poems of the life of love, involving figures with fictionalised speaking names, 2.6 7 are both addressed to old friends with real names and look back to the poet's past, possibly both to the civil wars, 2.8 9 are another pair of poems on erotic subjects, the *femme fatale* Barine and the dead *puer* Mystes, again with speaking names (here the actual infidelity of Barine is neatly matched by the poetic over fidelity of Valgius to Mystes), while the three poems 2.10 2.12 are linked by the offer of advice to a friend. 2.13 and 2.14 are paired by the prominence of death and the underworld in both poems, while 2.14 and 2.15 stand together as poems of ethical advice against luxury, anticipating both the themes and the metre of the Alcaic Roman odes of 3.1 6 (2.18 also anticipates the themes, but not the metre). The final group of four poems is contained by two poems addressed to Maecenas, both of which stress the poet's friendship, but 2.19 and 2.20 are also paired together because of their imaginative fantasy about immortals, 2.19 with its description of the divine Bacchus, 2.20 with its description of the immortalised poet.[22]

These links within groups are matched by links across groups. As already noted, the theme of the civil wars not only holds together the

[22] See further Cucchiarelli 2006: 86. In forthcoming work, Stephen Heyworth proposes that 2.19 and 2.20 are a single poem (as well as 2.13 15) for earlier work in this direction see Heyworth 1995.

opening sequence of 2.1 3 but also seems to be relevant to the friendship pairing of 2.6 7; poems concerned with writers move from the initial group linked with historians (2.1 3) to the elegist Valgius in 2.9 and the potential historian Maecenas in 2.12; the theme of the underworld links 2.19 with the pair 2.13 14; diatribes against luxury connect 2.18 with the pair 2.15 16; the theme of praise of Caesar as a potential literary topic is raised in both 2.9 and 2.12; the theme of the symposium draws together 2.3, 2.7 and 2.11, that of love the two pairs 2.4 5 and 2.8 9 as well as 2.12, that of fantasy 2.13 and 2.19 20; and general ethical advice and profes sions of friendship are liberally distributed across the whole book.

These similarities are accompanied and balanced by contrasts and alternations, which like the variety of addressees seem to be a carefully orchestrated element in the book. The tragic realism of the opening group 2.1 3 and their links with the civil wars and their historians contrast with the lighter and less 'real' poems of love 2.4 5, but we then return to the realities of Rome's past history with the old friends of 2.6 7, at least one of which provides a strong link with the civil wars. 2.8 9 reprise the erotic themes of 2.4 5: 2.4 and 2.9 both deal with lovers of inferior rank to the addressee, while the issue of excessive youth (too young for love, too young to die) links Lalage in 2.5 with Mystes in 2.9. The more serious subject of advice to a friend constitutes the core of the next group 2.10 12, while the two treatments of the underworld in 2.13 and 2.14 (another contrasting switch) have their own internal contrasts (one is fantastic and literary, the other severe and moralising), and in the final two sequences we find the same clear variation between ethical preaching (2.15 16, 2.18) and lit erary fantasy (2.19 20).

(b) The book of moderation

Book 2 of the *Odes* contains 20 poems, almost half the 38 of Book 1 and two thirds of the 30 of Book 3. Like *Satires* 1 (10 poems), it thus has a number of poems founded on a decimal base, following Virgil's *Eclogues* (10) and Tibullus' first book (10), a feature later echoed in Book 3 (30). The contrast with *Odes* 1 is interesting: its 38 poems seem to show a poet keen to emphasise his full acquaintance with the rich range of Greek lyric, with considerable metrical diversity (beginning with nine poems in differ ent metres), while the 20 poems of Book 2 show much less metrical variety: as already noted, it begins with ten poems in which Alcaics alternate with Sapphics, and then presents seven of its remaining ten poems in Alcaics, looking forward in the Alcaic groups 2.13 15 and 2.19 20 to the conse cutive repetition of the same metre in the Roman Odes of 3.1 6 (for more on the book's metres see section 7 below). The same restraint and con sistency is shown in the matter of length: only four of its twenty poems

extend to more than 30 lines with none over 40, and none is shorter than 20, whereas in Book 1 poem length can range from 8 lines (1.11, 1.38), 12 (1.23) or 16 (1.19, 1.21, 1.34) to 52 (1.2) and 60 (1.12).

These statistics suggest that where Book 1 shows poetic ambition and diversity, Book 2 shows poetic moderation and consistency. Having shown what he can do in his first book, in his second book the lyric poet settles into a more constant form and establishes the characteristic concerns of the *Odes*. Moderation is a key theme in Book 2: it stresses moderation across a range of fields in material consumption, in philosophical out look, in passions and emotions, and in literary form. The opening poem is here symptomatic: after an impassioned recall of the horrors of civil war treated by its addressee Pollio in his lost *Histories*, the last stanza famously implies that this material is too much for Horatian lyric (2.1.37 40). There Horatian lyric is in effect defined as a moderate literary form, both in implicit contrast with the dramatic history of Pollio evoked in the rest of the poem and in explicit contrast with the intense lyric laments associated with the name of Simonides of Ceos (see commentary). Note too that this intervention by the poet comes when the lyric ode has reached the maximum number of lines allowed to an ode in Book 2: restraint of length as well as of emotional intensity, presented as programmatic in the first poem, is indeed a key feature of the book.

The selection of addressees in Book 2 shows variety in more than metre and length, but here too there is some aspect of moderation and restraint.[23] The *princeps* himself does not figure as addressee, and alongside the indispensable Maecenas (2.12, 2.17, 2.20), the only consular invoked is Pollio, assigned the prestigious initial position in 2.1. A quarter of the poems are addressed to minor friends of H., some of whom are also addressed in the first book of *Epistles*: Septimius (2.6; cf. *Ep.* 1.9), Pompeius (2.7), Quintius (2.11; cf. *Ep.*1.16), Postumus (2.14) and Grosphus (2.16; cf. *Ep.* 1.12). Several addressees have misleadingly resonant names but turn out to be less important than their potential homonyms: Sallustius in 2.2 is an influential figure as friend of Augustus but recalls above all the celebrated name of his great uncle and adoptive father the historian; Pompeius in 2.7 is not a key member of the family of that name, though he may have been a political supporter of Sextus Pompey (see 2.7, introduction); and Licinius in 2.10 is probably not the famous conspirator 'Varro Murena' (see 2.10, introduction). The theme of civil war raised in 2.1 is continued in the associations of the addressees of several other poems in the first half of the book: Dellius in 2.3, well known for his rapid side changing, and Pompeius in 2.7, H.'s comrade at Philippi. Writers are also prominent: the historian Pollio in 2.1 has been noted, while 2.3 provides

[23] Cf. Günther 2013: 319 20.

another historian of the civil wars in Dellius (it cannot be an accident that 2.2, the poem intermediate between these two, is addressed to the homon ymous heir of the great historian Sallust), while in 2.9 we find the elegiac poet Valgius. The suggestion in 2.12 that Maecenas himself could write a prose history of Caesar's battles fits the emphasis in this book on contem porary history and its recording.

The number of fictional addressees is lower than in Book 1, partly because of the smaller number of erotic odes: Xanthias (2.6) and Barine (2.8) seem to have typical or speaking names, while another poem (2.5) seems to have an anonymous addressee but a fictionally named protago nist (Lalage). Two further poems of more ethical character have either an anonymous addressee (2.18) or no addressee at all (2.15): both these look forward to the similarly moralising and non individually addressed Roman Odes of the following book. Finally, for further variation, we find non human addressees: the famous tree which nearly ended H.'s life (2.13), and the god Bacchus, invoked as the inspiring deity of lyric poetry (2.19).

The prominence of philosophical elements in *Odes* Book 2 has often been noted by scholars.[24] Here again we find moderation: rather as in Book 1 of the *Epistles*,[25] the poet comes across as interested in general maxims which would find sympathy with adherents of most contemporary philosophical schools: the correct use of wealth (2.2), the importance of equanimity in good and bad times (2.3), the proper limits to lamentation (2.9), the golden mean (2.10), the ephemeral nature of human life (2.14), the evils of excessive materialism and the virtues of austerity (2.15, 2.18), the primacy of inner peace (2.16). Links with the philoso phical views of particular addressees have been suggested; Stoic doctrines appear prominently in 2.2 and may reflect the views of both Sallusts (see 2.2, introduction); on the other hand, Stoic and Epicurean doctrines are happily mixed in 2.3 and probably do not reflect Dellius' views (see introduction to that poem), while the evocation of *aurea mediocritas* in 2.10 need not be specifically Peripatetic (see introduction to that poem).

But H.'s personal penchant for Epicureanism[26] does show in the book's emphasis on friendship, the symposium and erotic pleasure. As already noted, most non fictional addressees in *Odes* 2 are personal friends rather than distant grandees, and several odes appeal to years of particular friend ship, especially the matched pairing of 2.6 (Septimius and the future pro spect of joint retirement) and 2.7 (Pompeius and the past joint experience of Philippi), and the two odes to Maecenas, H.'s main patron for more than a decade (2.12, 2.17); 2.17 in particular stresses the poet's warm devotion to his grand *amicus*. Friendship can be sealed with sympotic celebration (cf. 2.3,

[24] E.g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 2 3; Günther 2013: 316 17.
[25] Cf. Kilpatrick 1986. [26] See e.g. Moles 2007.

2.7, 2.11) which belongs both to the literary tradition of Greek lyric and to the contemporary social life of Rome[27] and is linked with the Epicurean notions of enjoying life while it lasts (2.3.13 16) or seeking private content ment in escape from public affairs (2.11.1 8). Sympotic celebration of friendship can exceptionally license an episode of excessive consumption (2.7.26 8).

Moderation of passion and its proper occasion (an idea common to most ancient philosophical schools) is also a key idea in the book's treatment of erotic matters. In 2.4 the poet (insincerely) claims that at forty he is too old for love; in 2.5 Lalage is not yet ready for love, but her time will come;[28] in 2.8 the behaviour of the perfidious *femme fatale* Barine is presented as extreme and unacceptable; in 2.9 Valgius grieves excessively for his lost love Mystes. These are the only poems of the book (one fifth) which are focussed primarily on the topic of love; unlike Catullus and the Roman elegists, H. does not present himself as a figure wedded to the life of passion and the determined, even obsessive pursuit of a single partner.[29] Even in the erotic odes he generally takes the role of adviser and observer (2.4, 2.5, 2.8, 2.9), though in many cases this can co exist with hints at his own sexual desire for the objects of others' passion (see especially the endings of 2.4 and 2.5). It is only in 2.12 that we find the poet as professed and engaged lover of a particular individual (Licymnia), but in that poem his passion (he implies) is shared by Maecenas, and the girl never appears again in the *Odes*. This distanced approach to passion suits the poet's middle age (cf. 2.4.22 4) as well as his Epicureanism.[30]

4 LITERARY INTERTEXTS

H. is one of the most creatively allusive of Latin poets, especially in the dense textures of the *Odes*. This aspect of his lyric technique has been particularly appreciated since the advent of detailed modern commentaries,[31] and literary scholarship on Latin poetry has been productively focussed in the last generation on creative intertextual recall of earlier poets.[32] Here I provide a survey of some of the key intertexts of *Odes* 2.

[27] For the latter see Griffin 1985: 65 87.

[28] For the importance of 'proper time' in Horatian erotics cf. Lyne 1980: 201 38, Ancona 1994.

[29] See again Lyne 1980: 201 38.

[30] For the pragmatic Epicurean approach to sex laid out by Lucretius in the previous generation see Brown 1987.

[31] Nisbet and Hubbard 1970 and 1978, Nisbet and Rudd 2004, Thomas 2011.

[32] See e.g. Woodman and West 1979, Conte 1986, Hinds 1998, Thomas 1982 and 1999, Harrison 2007b.

Though (as already noted) *Odes* 2 does not contain the virtuoso display of Greek lyric metres and themes which dominates the first half of *Odes* 1 (see section 2 above), Greek lyric is a constant presence in metre (see section 7 below) and a regular source for subject matter. Sappho and Alcaeus, the most important models in *Odes* 1 3 for both form and content,[33] are specifically evoked in the imagined katabasis of 2.13, where the poet, had he gone prematurely to the underworld, would have seen both the major Lesbian poets. In a highly gendered treatment which evokes the literary critical structure of the *synkrisis* or formal comparison (2.13.24 32, see commentary), Alcaeus is seen as the more powerful poet of sailing, exile and war, Sappho as the weaker plaintive voice of unrequited homosexual love; both are admired by their infernal audience, but Alcaeus' themes of battle and the expulsion of tyrants are more generally popular. This last element perhaps looks to the taste of a tradi tional Roman readership for war and politics (erotic themes are added in a previous characterisation of Alcaeus in 1.32.5 12), but it is clear that this vignette presents both poets as significant predecessors for the content of *Odes* 2, which combines erotic and political material with ethics and moralising (see section 3 above); Sappho is echoed in an erotic context at 2.5.13 (see commentary).

Alcaeus' political poetry surfaces briefly again in 2.7, where the poet's carefully expressed memories of Philippi evoke Alcaeus' loss of his shield in battle (also suffered by Archilochus and Anacreon; see introduction), while his sympotic poetry seems to underlie 2.14. Anacreon also features through use of typical Anacreontic tropes in 2.5 (the comparison of attractive young girls and young animals) and 2.11 (the advance of age for the poet as lover). Simonides is echoed in allusions to his lyric laments in 2.1 (2.1.38 n.) and 2.13 (see introduction), while a fragmentary poem of Bacchylides seems to be a starting point for 2.18. Thus more than half the traditional nine Greek lyric poets are alluded to in this book; no doubt many more allusions would be apparent if Greek lyric poetry were not largely lost outside the works of Pindar. Pindar's own grand tone is less suited to the more intimate poems of Book 2, and he is conspicuous by his absence; but he will become an important source in Books 3 and 4 (e.g. in 3.4 and 4.2).

Greek epigram is an important and sometimes underestimated model for the *Odes* in general; its literary tradition of brief and terse poems fits H.'s relatively condensed version of lyric poetry, as does its common subject matter of love, death and symposiastic pleasure.[34] In this book it is particularly visible in 2.4 (use of Philodemus' catalogue of erotic charms

[33] See e.g. Feeney 1993 and Woodman 2002.
[34] See e.g. Citti 1990, Harrison 2007b: 177 84, Thomas 2007, Höschele 2009.

and reference to his own age), 2.5 (echoes of Philodemus' comparison of a young girl and ripening fruit), 2.11 (the theme of sympotic prepara tions) and 2.20 (traces of Posidippus' self presenting *sphragis* or seal poem). Of other genres less obviously connected with lyric poetry, Greek tragedy is invoked in two odes whose addressees have particular connec tion with the genre: 2.1, the ode to Pollio, author of lost tragedies appar ently modelled after Sophocles, where tragic themes and language are prominent, and 2.19, addressed to Bacchus, patron god of tragedy at Athens and key character of Euripides' *Bacchae*, a play which this poem specifically echoes.

Odes 2 presents a broad range of allusions to extant Roman poetry; again we need to recall that most of Latin poetry before H. is lost and that many intertextual echoes available to original readers are necessarily unavailable to us. Amongst early Latin writers, 2.20 alludes to Ennius, both to his well known self epitaph and to the opening of the *Annals* (see 2.20, introduction): H.'s metamorphosis into a swan of eternal fame is both a literalisation of Ennius' 'flying on the lips of men' and a version of his supposed transformation into a peacock. Another important influence on *Odes* 2, more than on any other book of the *Odes*, is the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius.[35] The Postumus ode (2.14) famously closes with the sombre thought that the addressee must leave behind his family and earthly possessions once death comes (2.14.21 4), which draws on (and to some degree reverses) Lucretius' satirical presentation of the same idea as the basis of a common mistaken view in his diatribe against the fear of death in *De Rerum Natura* 3 (3.894 901). Similarly Lucretian is the open ing of 2.16, where the poet praises *otium*, 'peace', as the highest object of life. Though the metre of the poem and the repetition of the word *otium* recall Catullus (see below), the theme of the vanity of human riches and the importance of inner tranquillity looks to the proem of Lucretius 2 (20 39, see 2.16, introduction), the same Lucretian passage which underlies the diatribe type material in the opening of 2.18 (1 8, see 2.18, introduction).

Catullus is echoed alongside Lucretius in *Odes* 2, as befits the two greatest extant Latin poets of the generation before H. Catullus had been an important predecessor for H. in the use of Aeolic lyric metres in Latin, in particular of the Sapphic stanza found in 2.2, 2.4, 2.6, 2.8, 2.10 and 2.16 (see section 7 below). It is unsurprisingly in these poems linked metrically with Catullus that we find the closest connections to Catullan themes and language. In 2.6, the opening theme of perilous journey into theatres of war and far distant lands as a token of friendship recalls the

[35] For previous literature on H. and Lucretius see Holzberg 2007: 117, and for a fuller treatment of the echoes in *Odes* 2 see Harrison 2013.

famous opening of Catullus 11 in the listing of locations at the edge of the Roman world linked with contemporary military campaigns, and H.'s ode can be seen as a moderate but warm expression of friendship which 'corrects' Catullus' passionate poem of protest against his lover's infidelity (see introduction to 2.6). In 2.16, the triple use of the word *otium* in the poem's opening two stanzas (1 8) as the first word in three separate lines in the same case recalls and outdoes the last stanza of Catullus 51, point edly reinterpreting the term (for Catullus *otium* suggests destructive and self indulgent leisure, while for H. it clearly represents positive peace of mind).

If (as suggested in section 1 above) *Odes* 2 is essentially a product of the first half of the 20s BCE, this would fit the prominence of certain intertexts which were recent publications in those years. Prime amongst these is Virgil's *Georgics*, emerging about 29 BCE (though pastoral elements from the *Eclogues* of *c.*38 are also echoed: see introductions to 2.3 and 2.11). Book 2 seems to be especially interested in the narrative of Orpheus' descent to the under world in *Georgics* 4, which is echoed in no fewer than four poems. In 2.9 Valgius is presented as lamenting interminably in language which recalls the lament of Orpheus for the lost Eurydice (2.9.9 12 ~ *G.*4.465 6, see com mentary). Here Virgil's tragic episode is ironised in H.'s criticism of his elegiac friend for excessive literary lamentation: the loss of the *puer* Mystes is not to be compared with that of Eurydice. In 2.13 the underworld of *Georgics* 4 is again invoked. In the second half of this poem H. imagines the journey to the underworld that he would have made if not saved from the falling tree (2.13.21 40), a passage that contains clear echoes of the Virgilian katabasis in the soothing of Cerberus and the snake garlanded Furies (2.13.33 6 ~ *G.* 4.471 2, *G.* 4.481 4; see comm.). H. here potentially takes on the role of Orpheus as poetic visitor to the underworld, but also assigns to the music of Sappho and Alcaeus the famous effect of Orphean singing in the lulling of monsters and the cessation of infernal torments. The soothing of Cerberus occurs again in the ode to Bacchus, 2.19, again with an echo of *Georgics* 4 (2.19.29 32 ~ *G.* 4.483, see comm.), while in 2.14 the visit to the underworld in death which no one can avoid is again characterised in the colours of *Georgics* 4 (2.14.17 20 ~ *G.* 4.478 80, see comm.). Here an Orphean style visit to the infernal regions is envisaged for the addressee Postumus, though without Orpheus' chance of return. Further echoes of the *Georgics* include the picture of plains fertilised by Roman corpses slain in civil war battle (2.1.29 30) which picks up the same theme at the end of *Georgics* 1 (1.491 2), the peaceful picture of the river Galaesus in 2.6 which echoes the episode of the old man of Corycus in *Georgics* 4.116 48 (2.6.10 11 n., 2.6.21 2 n.), the lamentation of Valgius at 2.9.10 12 which alludes to the lamentation of Orpheus in *Georgics* 4 (4.466), the description of conquered races in the same poem (2.9.18 24) which recalls *Georgics*

3.30 3, and the reference to the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs at 2.12.5 6 which picks up *Georgics* 2.455 7.

The *Georgics* is not the only contemporary literary text which has poten tial links to *Odes* 2. The first book of Tibullus is to be dated to 27/26 BCE,[36] and may have been available earlier to H. if his elegist friend Albius of *Odes* 1.33 and *Epistles* 1.4 is (as seems very likely) Tibullus, though H. might just as well be source as imitator. The opening malediction of 2.13 on the originator of a feature objectionable to the poet is parallel with the open ing of Tibullus 1.5 (1 6), while the Bacchus of *Odes* 2.19 has similarities to his Egyptian counterpart Osiris as recently described in Tibullus 1.7 (2.19.9 28 ~ 1.7.33 48). A further poem addressed to the contemporary elegist Valgius can be presumed to allude to his work, though since just about all of that is lost it is hard to be sure (see 2.9, introduction); the same goes for the tragic and historiographical language in 2.1, addressed to the tragedian and historian Pollio (see 2.1, introduction).

Apart from the echoes of Greek lyric, these interactions with other literary texts show what I have elsewhere called 'generic enrichment', the capacity of an established genre to extend its boundaries and range of topics and language by including material from other literary kinds, which I view as a crucial feature of the *Odes* as of other Augustan poetry; the relatively amorphous genre of lyric poetry is especially porous in this respect.[37] *Odes* 2 begins with allusions to tragedy and historiography in 2.1, engages with epic in 2.7 and 2.9, and ends with allusion to tragedy in 2.19 and epigram in 2.20, drawing in between on an impressive variety of other literary genres.

5 INTERNAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE POEMS

H.'s odes are carefully designed, usually in blocks of four line stanzas (2.18 is an exception here: see section 7 below); in the commentary I have tried to set out how each poem can be divided and how its structure functions.[38] Here I will point out a few general considerations.

Ring composition is a common technique in Horatian lyric; it has been well compared to the *da capo* structure in classical music, where a piece or section returns at its end to its initial starting point.[39] The idea so empha sised is often the central point of the poem, especially in the relatively brief odes of this second book. This is the case in both the opening poems: 2.1 ends with a stanza which specifically inverts a number of terms from its opening three stanzas (2.1.37 40 n.), while 2.2 starts and concludes with the key idea of the proper use of accumulated wealth. Likewise, 2.6 begins and ends with its main idea of Septimius' great loyalty as a friend, shown in his

[36] See Lyne 1998. [37] See Harrison 2007b (168 206 on *Odes*).
[38] See also Mayer 2012: 12 16. [39] See Tarrant 1995.

readiness to travel with the poet to the ends of the earth and to attend to his funeral rites, marked by the term *mecum* in the first and last stanzas (2.6.1, 2.6.21), while the friendship of H. and Pompeius in 2.7 is similarly marked by the terms *sodalium* and *amico* at the poem's start and end (2.7.5, 2.7.28). In 2.9, the geographical catalogue of the opening is balanced and answered by that of the ending (2.9.1 8 ~ 2.9.17 24, see 2.9, introduction), while 2.10 begins (1 4) and ends (21 4) with the idea of moderation as a safety strategy in sailing, 2.16 starts and finishes with the idea of *otium* (see introduction to that poem), 2.17 refers to killing and gives advice at both beginning and end (see 2.17 introduction and 2.17.30 32 n.), 2.18 alludes to royal successors near start and conclusion (2.18.6 ~ 2.18.34), and 2.19 begins and ends with the idea of seeing Bacchus (2.19.2 ~ 2.19.29). There are also larger elements of ring composition in the culminating last poem, as we might expect (see 2.20, introduction): Book 2 uses the rare word *nenia* in the last stanzas of both its first and last poems, and the key idea of 2.20, the airborne fame of the poet, recalls the ending of 1.1 where H. likewise achieves astral celebrity.

I have elsewhere set out various ways in which the *Odes* of H. show a change of subject matter in or around the central stanza or stanzas.[40] Some of these are nicely exemplified in Book 2: for instance, both 2.7 and 2.11 show a central turn from political subject matter to symposiastic celebration (also seen in 3.14). In both cases the consideration of politics merits a celebration which can be related to the new Augustan order: in 2.7 the civil strife of Philippi is presented as gone for ever, shown by the amnesty under which the old Republican Pompeius is returning to Italy, while in 2.11 stirrings on the distant borders of the empire need give us no trouble since (it is implied) Rome can now keep order. Another kind of central turn found twice in Book 2 is that of false closure. In 2.5 the end of the initial instruction to the apparently anonymous addressee not to pursue the still immature Lalage could give a satisfactory ending to the poem after three stanzas, a length which recalls that of the epigram tradition on which it is based (see commentary); but the poem continues for another three stanzas, moving from 'she will mature enough for you to pursue her' to 'she will pursue you' and beginning a new train of thought in considering Lalage's future active sexual potential, a reversal of the first half where her character as passive love object was stressed. A similar central turn is found in *Odes* 2.13. Here in a 40 line poem we seem to achieve an ending at line 20, where the curse on the tree and reflections on death present a natural conclusion, aided as in 2.5 by the concise epigrammatic tradition on which the poem draws (see commentary). But in fact this is only the end of the first half: the new start at line 21

[40] Harrison 2004.

takes up a quite different poetic theme, a detailed account of the under world, which occupies the poem's second half.

Finally, the poems of *Odes* 2 show a variety of closural devices apart from ring composition, devices which have parallels in other poetic texts.[41] 2.1 ends dramatically with the invocation of the lyric Muse to pull the poet back on track, 2.4 with a traditional closural element of the poet's age, 2.6 and 2.20 with the idea of the poet's death or lack of death, 2.5, 2.8, and 2.12 with vignettes lingering on beautiful lovers and their attractions, 2.7, 2.11 and 2.14 with celebratory symposia, 2.17 with a celebratory sacrifice, 2.3, 2.13, 2.18 and 2.19 with pictures of the underworld (like death an intuitively closural motif).

6 STYLE

The stylistic texture of the *Odes* is rich and elaborate and justifies the assessment *Horati curiosa felicitas*, 'Horace's happy expression achieved by hard work' of the Petronian character Eumolpus, a better critic than poet (*Sat.*118.5).[42] In terms of vocabulary, the *Odes* consistently show a higher lexical level than the *Epodes* or H.'s hexameter *sermones*; lofty and grandly archaic language is regular (e.g. 2.13.3, 2.13.13 14 n.), and only occa sionally do we find low terms for special effect, usually in expressly colloquial contexts (e.g. 2.8.13, 2.11.21, 2.13.33, 2.14.6 n.);[43] likewise, prosaic terms normally point towards topics normally treated in prose such as history and philosophy.[44] In this respect of decorousness, though not as grandly epic overall, the language of the *Odes* is similar to that of the *Aeneid.* The use of word order is quite remarkable, even in a Latin poetic tradition familiar with (e.g.) the elaborate style of Catullus 64; the short lines of the main Aeolic stanzas (Sapphic and Alcaic, see below) offered more opportunities than hexameters for the significant placing of words at the start and end of lines, and the use of hyperbaton (artificial separation of words that would normally be placed together in Latin, such as noun adjective pairs) is frequent and striking, as is significant

[41] For detailed discussion of each ending mentioned see commentary. On closure in the *Odes* see Schrijvers 1973, Esser 1976, Mayer 2012: 16; for larger work on closure with some reference to H. see Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997, Fowler 2000: 235 308. Closural motifs in general are most easily found through the useful index in Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997.

[42] For modern discussions of Horatian style see the fundamental collection of material in Bo 1960 and the excellent survey by Muecke 1997, as well as the items gathered by Holzberg 2007: 126 and the treatments in Harrison 2007a: 265 9 and 2014a: 73 83 and Knox 2013.

[43] See briefly Mayer 2012: 9 10 and still the fundamental treatment in Axelson 1945: 98 113, supported by Watson 1985.

[44] For examples see commentary on 2.1.10 11, 33, 34 5 (historiography), 2.2.3 4, 18, 19 21 (philosophy).

juxtaposition, both of terms that are in close relation to each other and of terms in opposition; nouns and their adjectives can be vertically juxta posed at the end or start of short lyric lines (2.4.13 14 n., 2.8.1 2 n.), a neat variation of their normal horizontal juxtaposition, while verbs can be placed emphatically at the start of a sentence (inverting the normal order: 2.2.5 n.), sometimes at the beginning of a stanza (cf. 2.8.9, 2.10.13, 2.16.13, 2.16.29).

Stylistic discussion is easier with focussed analysis,[45] so here I look at the texture of a particular poem, 2.14, the ode to Postumus:[46]

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni nec pietas moram
    rugis et instanti senectae
        adferet indomitaeque morti,
non, si trecenis quotquot eunt dies, 5
amice, places illacrimabilem
    Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
        Geryonen Tityonque tristi
compescit unda, scilicet omnibus
quicumque terrae munere uescimur 10
    enauiganda, siue reges
        siue inopes erimus coloni.
frustra cruento Marte carebimus
fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
    frustra per autumnos nocentem 15
        corporibus metuemus Austrum:
uisendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
    infame damnatusque longi
        Sisyphus Aeolides laboris. 20
linquenda tellus et domus et placens
uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum
    te praeter inuisas cupressos
        ulla breuem dominum sequetur;
absumet heres Caecuba degener 25
seruata centum clauibus et mero
    tinguet pauimentum superbo,
        pontificum potiore cenis.

[45] For some previous examples see Harrison 2007a: 262 76, 2014a: 73 83.
[46] Reference should be made to the commentary for detailed parallels and supporting material.

The emotional tone of the poem is struck at once by the marked anaphora in the first stanza of the addressee's name, something found only here in the *Odes*. The ode is held together by the image of moving water, modulat ing from river to sea and back again (*labuntur, instant, adferet, indomitae, eunt, unda, enauiganda, fluctibus, flumen*); the relentless river of time from the first stanza becomes the obligatory infernal stream of the fifth stanza. The three hundred days of line 5 match the triple large Geryon of line 8, the number three being used in both to express large size or duration, while the fantastic hyperbole of *trecenis* is underlined by the extreme hyperbaton separating it from its noun *tauris*, also emphasised as extra ordinary by its final position in the clause; the opposites *reges* and *coloni* balance each other neatly at the ends of lines 11 and 12. Lexically, lofty and less lofty terms are mixed together: *quotquot* (5) and *scilicet* (9) are words of ordinary, even spoken language, while the balancing negative adjectives *indomitae* (5) and *illacrimabilem* (6) imitate Greek poetic usage, line 9 echoes a Homeric formula, and the Greek accusatives of lines 7 8 strike an elevated note. Euphonically and structurally, old age and death are balanced against each other at the ends of lines 3 and 4 (*senectae, morti*) with alliterating epithets (*instanti, indomitae*) while lines 13, 14 and 15 all begin with emphatic words in *fr* , one of which is repeated (*frustra, fractis que, frustra*), and the assonance of *autumnos* (15) and *Austrum* (16) links together a destructive season and a destructive wind.

The antepenultimate and penultimate stanzas begin with balancing and similarly shaped gerundives (*uisendus, linquenda*), matching in their verbal force and emphatic initial placement the *absumet* which begins the last stanza; these gerundives in turn pick up 11 *enauiganda* and a key message of the poem about man's obligatory departure from mortal life and required journey to the underworld, while the final word of the penultimate stanza (*sequetur*) pointedly picks up its first (*linquenda*) man leaves the earth but his property does not go with him, another central idea in the ode. Both lines 19 and 20 and lines 26 and 27 end with a noun adjective pair in vertical juxtaposition (*longi ... laboris, mero ... superbo*), while the last stanza exhibits forceful triple alliteration of both *c* and *p* (*Caecuba ... centum ... clauibus, pauimentum ... pontificum ... potiore*), suggesting contempt for worldly luxury. Close reading reveals the poet's minute attention to verbal and sonic texture, and the effective interaction of such elements with the poem's argument and subject.

7 METRE

Ovid's remark at *Tristia* 4.10.49 *et tenuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures*, 'and Horace of the many measures gripped our ears', whether it refers to live recitation or merely to reading, points to a key achievement of the *Odes*

in their virtuoso deployment of Aeolic Greek lyric metres; as far as we know (though most of the evidence is missing given the loss of most Roman Republican poetry), H.'s prominent claims to be the first extensive user of Aeolic metre in Latin and to be the first Roman imitator of Alcaeus (*Odes* 3.30.12 14, *Ep.* 1.19.32 3) are justified, though Catullus (as H. well knew) had used Sapphics famously in poems 11 and 51, and Sappho herself in the latter; both these Catullan poems are taken up in the *Odes* (see introduction to 2.16). H.'s vaunted achievement is a real one: such metres were harder to deploy in Latin with its greater number of long syllables, and the task was made harder by Horatian tightening of the archaic rules (see further below). *Odes* 2 is much less varied metrically than *Odes* 1, deploying many fewer metres (four) in its twenty poems than *Odes* 1 does in its opening nine: the first ten poems simply alternate Alcaics and Sapphics, the two most common Horatian metres,[47] while 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 20 are all in Alcaics, looking forward to the all Alcaic sequence of the Roman Odes (3.1 6), and 16 is in Sapphics. Only 2.12 (second Asclepiad) and 2.18 (Hipponactean) are in neither of these two metres, and only 2.18 is in a metre which does not normally fall into four line stanzas, though like all the *Odes* (probably) its line total is divisible by four according to Meineke's Law.[48] In what follows I will set out the scheme for each metre, with a few observations of detail on H.'s usage:[49] – represents a long syllable, ∪ a short syllable, × a syllable which can be either short or long (*anceps*), while / represents a caesura (a break between metrical units which is also a break between words).

(i) Alcaic stanza (2.1, 2.3, 2.5, 2.7, 2.9, 2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.17, 2.19, 2.20)

This (inherited from Alcaeus) is a four line stanza composed of two Alcaic hendecasyllables (eleven syllable lines) followed by a nine syllable line and a ten syllable line:

× – ∪ – – / – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ×
× – ∪ – – / – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ×
× – ∪ – – – ∪ – ×
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×

[47] For interesting arguments that Alcaics are usually used for weighty poems (but cf. 2.5) and that Sapphics are usually used for lighter poems (but cf. 2.16) see Morgan 2010.
[48] See further Kraggerud 2014.
[49] All these details are also noted in the commentary with fuller analysis. For fuller accounts of H.'s lyric metres see N H 1. xxxviii xlvi, Bo 1960: 29 88.

In Greek usage the first syllable of the first three lines can be short or long; in H. it is usually long, a tightening of Alcaeus' own rules (the only exceptions in Book 2 are 2.1.6, 2.3.3, 2.7.22, 2.9.5, 2.14.6, 2.17.3, 2.19.22, 2.20.11, 3.1% of all relevant lines). In Greek usage the fifth syllable in these three lines can be short or long, while in H. it is always long. In the first two lines there is normally a caesura after the first five syllables; in Book 2 the only exception is 2.17.21, where the caesura occurs after the sixth syllable, eased by the preceding elision, while 2.11.5 uniquely adds a further caesura after the seventh syllable, splitting the choriambic core of the line (i.e. the sequence – ∪ ∪ –). Hiatus, the juxtaposition of vowels without elision, is occasionally found between lines (e.g. 2.13.7 8, 2.13.11 12) and regularly between stanzas, even when a sense unit is not complete (e.g. 2.1.12 13, 2.13.8 9), while elision between lines also sometimes occurs (e.g. 2.3.27 8, 2.13.21 2, 26 7; the last two involve proper names, often a locus for metrical licence). The third line usually ends with a word of two syllables or longer (2.7.19 is the only exception in the *Odes*), while the fourth line usually has no pause within the initial choriamb (2.13.8 is a rare exception, leading to an equally rare double caesura).

(ii) Sapphic stanza (2.2, 2.4, 2.6, 2.8, 2.10, 2.16)

This (inherited from both Sappho and Alcaeus) is a four line stanza composed of three Sapphic hendecasyllables rounded off by a five syllable adonaean:

– × – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
– × – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
– × – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
– ∪ ∪ – ×

In Greek usage and in Catullus the fourth syllable of the hendecasyllable can be either short or long; in H. it is invariably long. There is normally a word break after the fifth syllable (2.6.11, after the sixth syllable, is the only exception in Book 2). Elision can occur between hendecasyllables (e.g. 2.2.18 19), as can hiatus (e.g. 2.4.6 7, 2.16.5 6); hiatus can also occur between the third hendecasyllable and the adonaean (not in Book 2, but cf. 1.12.7 8, 31 2, 1.22.15 16, 4.2.23 4, *CS* 47 8). The adonaean can occasionally contain a single word, usually a proper name (2.6.8 *militiaeque* is the only exception to this), and may occasionally split a word with the preceding hendecasyllable; the only example of this prac tice in Book 2 (2.16.7 8 *ue* | *nale*) may be a gesture towards the metrical practice of Sappho and Catullus (Alcaeus never does this in the extant fragments).

(iii) Second Asclepiad stanza (2.12)

This is a four line stanza, inherited from Alcaeus, composed of three Asclepiad lines and a final glyconic:

– – – ∪ ∪ – / ∪ – ∪ ×
– – – ∪ ∪ – / ∪ – ∪ ×
– – – ∪ ∪ – / ∪ – ∪ ×
– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ×

The only use of this metre in Book 2 shows one unusual feature: 2.12.25 *cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula* does not have the usual caesura after the fifth syllable, but the prefix *de* can be thought of as separable by tmesis here.

(iv) Hipponactean (2.18)

This is an epodic metre (i.e. one based on a pair of unequal lines), the only metre used in Book 2 not based on four line stanzas, combining a catalectic trochaic dimeter with a catalectic iambic trimeter:

– ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ×
× – ∪ – × | – ∪ – ∪ – – –

This metre is found in Latin only in this poem and in an imitation by Prudentius (his *Epilogus*; see N H's introduction to 2.18); it is said by the metrical theorist Caesius Bassus to have been used often by Alcaeus (*GLK* VI.270.21), though it is not found in any surviving Greek text. In 2.18, given that the poem's opening derives from Bacchylides (see 2.18, introduction), it may come from him just as easily as from Alcaeus. The dimeter usually ends with a long syllable, but 2.18.17 and 2.18.21 end with a short one; hiatus occurs between dimeter and trimeter at 2.18.8 9, 2.18.18 19 and 2.18.30 1. The trimeter usually starts with a short syllable, but a long one is found at 2.18.6 and 2.18.34; 2.18.34 also contains another licence, resolution of a long syllable into two shorts (not a feature of the stricter Aeolic stanzaic metres). Its fifth syllable is usually long before the caesura, but short syllables are found in this position at 2.18.2, 2.18.24, 2.18.38 and 2.18.40.

8 TEXT

The text given in this edition is not a full critical text, though it cites the crucial variants and includes some conjectures in both text and apparatus not found in modern critical editions (see 2.1.20, 2.5.13, 2.12.9, 2.13.15, 2.19.31). Sources of previous conjectures are fully documented in the

Oslo database (see Preface above); for the details of manuscript readings the Teubner text of Klingner 1957 still contains the fullest information (though the more adventurous Shackleton Bailey 1985 records more conjectures), while Tarrant 1983 provides a convenient summary of H.'s textual transmission. In the *apparatus criticus* I have employed a convenient shorthand, as follows: MSS = the reading of all manuscripts, M = the reading of most or the most significant manuscripts, m = the reading of one or a few minor manuscripts. Stanzaic metres have been presented without leaving spaces between the stanzas, since this is how they appear in our earliest Greek papyri.

Q. HORATI FLACCI CARMINVM
LIBER SECVNDVS

Q. HORATI FLACCI CARMINVM
LIBER SECVNDVS

1

Motum ex Metello consule ciuicum
bellique causas et uitia et modos
ludumque Fortunae grauisque
principum amicitias et arma
nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus, 5
periculosae plenum opus aleae,
tractas et incedis per ignis
suppositos cineri doloso.
paulum seuerae Musa tragoediae
desit theatris; mox, ubi publicas 10
res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
cui laurus aeternos honores 15
Delmatico peperit triumpho.
iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
perstringis auris, iam litui strepunt,
iam fulgor armorum fugacis
terret equos equitumque uultus. 20
audire magnos iam uideor duces
non indecoro puluere sordidos
et cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis.
Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior 25
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
tellure, uictorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthae.
quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulchris impia proelia 30
testatur auditumque Medis

1.20 uultus *MSS*: pectus *Harrison* 1.21 audire *MSS*: uidere *Beroaldus*

Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?
qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
non decolorauere caedes? 35
quae caret ora cruore nostro?
sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
Ceae retractes munera neniae,
mecum Dionaeo sub antro
quaere modos leuiore plectro. 40

2

Nullus argento color est auaris
abdito terris, inimice lamnae
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
splendeat usu.
uiuet extento Proculeius aeuo, 5
notus in fratres animi paterni;
illum aget penna metuente solui
Fama superstes.
latius regnes auidum domando
spiritum quam si Libyam remotis 10
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
seruiat uni.
crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops
nec sitim pellas, nisi causa morbi
fugerit uenis et aquosus albo 15
corpore languor.
redditum Cyri solio Prahaten
dissidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit Virtus populumque falsis
dedocet uti 20
uocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
deferens uni propriamque laurum
quisquis ingentis oculo irretorto
spectat aceruos.

2.14 pellas *Peerlkamp*: pellit *MSS*

3

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
seruare mentem, non secus in bonis
  ab insolenti temperatam
    laetitia, moriture Delli,
seu maestus omni tempore uixeris 5
seu te in remoto gramine per dies
  festos reclinatum bearis
    interiore nota Falerni.
quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitalem consociare amant 10
  ramis? quid obliquo laborat
    lympha fugax trepidare riuo?
huc uina et unguenta et nimium breuis
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
  dum res et aetas et sororum 15
    fila trium patiuntur atra.
cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
uillaque, flauus quam Tiberis lauit,
  cedes, et exstructis in altum
    diuitiis potietur heres. 20
diuesne prisco natus ab Inacho
nil interest an pauper et infima
  de gente sub diuo moreris,
    uictima nil miserantis Orci;
omnes eodem cogimur, omnium 25
uersatur urna serius ocius
  sors exitura et nos in aeternum
    exilium impositura cumbae.

4

Ne sit ancillae tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu, prius insolentem
serua Briseis niueo colore
    mouit Achillem;
mouit Aiacem Telamone natum 5

3.1 in *MSS*: ac *Bentley*

forma captiuae dominum Tecmessae;
arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
uirgine rapta,
barbarae postquam cecidere turmae
Thessalo uictore et ademptus Hector 10
tradidit fessis leuiora tolli
Pergama Grais.
nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flauae decorent parentes;
regium certe genus et penatis 15
maeret iniquos.
crede non illam tibi de scelesta
plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,
sic lucro auersam potuisse nasci
matre pudenda. 20
bracchia et uultum teretesque suras
integer laudo: fuge suspicari
cuius octauum trepidauit aetas
claudere lustrum.

5

Nondum subacta ferre iugum ualet
ceruice, nondum munia comparis
aequare nec tauri ruentis
in uenerem tolerare pondus.
circa uirentes est animus tuae 5
campos iuuencae, nunc fluuiis grauem
solantis aestum, nunc in udo
ludere cum uitulis salicto
praegestientis. tolle cupidinem
immitis uuae: iam tibi liuidos 10
distinguet Autumnus racemos
purpureo uarius colore.
iam te sequetur; currit enim ferox
aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit
apponet annos; iam proterua 15

5.13 ferox *MSS*: Ferox *Harrison*: fugax *Cruquius*

fronte petet Lalage maritum,
dilecta quantum non Pholoe fugax,
non Chloris albo sic umero nitens
ut pura nocturno renidet
luna mari Cnidiusue Gyges, 20
quem si puellarum insereres choro,
mire sagaces falleret hospites
discrimen obscurum solutis
crinibus ambiguoque uultu.

6

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
barbaras Syrtis, ubi Maura semper
aestuat unda,
Tibur Argeo positum colono 5
sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
sit modus lasso maris et uiarum
militiaeque.
unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
dulce pellitis ouibus Galaesi 10
flumen et regnata petam Laconi
rura Phalantho.
ille terrarum mihi praeter omnis
angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto
mella decedunt uiridique certat 15
baca Venafro,
uer ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas et amicus Aulon
fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
inuidet uuis. 20
ille te mecum locus et beatae
postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
debita sparges lacrima fauillam
uatis amici.

5.17 fugax *MSS*: ferox *Cruquius* 6.7 modus *MSS*: domus *Peerlkamp* 6.19 fertili *MSS*: fertilis *Servius ad Virg.* A. *3.553, Bentley*

7

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,
quis te redonauit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque caelo,
Pompei, meorum prime sodalium, 5
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
fregi, coronatus nitentis
malobathro Syrio capillos?
tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relicta non bene parmula, 10
cum fracta uirtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento;
sed me per hostis Mercurius celer
denso pauentem sustulit aere,
te rursus in bellum resorbens 15
unda fretis tulit aestuosis.
ergo obligatam redde Ioui dapem
longaque fessum militia latus
depone sub lauru mea, nec
parce cadis tibi destinatis. 20
obliuioso leuia Massico
ciboria exple, funde capacibus
unguenta de conchis. quis udo
deproperare apio coronas
curatue myrto? quem Venus arbitrum 25
dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis: recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico.

8

Vlla si iuris tibi peierati
poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
dente si nigro fieres uel uno
turpior ungui,
crederem; sed tu simul obligasti 5

8.3 uno *MSS*: unco *Horkel*: albo *Usener*

perfidum uotis caput, enitescis
pulchrior multo iuuenumque prodis
publica cura.
expedit matris cineres opertos
fallere et toto taciturna noctis 10
signa cum caelo gelidaque diuos
morte carentis.
ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido
semper ardentis acuens sagittas 15
cote cruenta.
adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
seruitus crescit noua nec priores
impiae tectum dominae relinquunt
saepe minati. 20
te suis matres metuunt iuuencis,
te senes parci miseraeque nuper
uirgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
aura maritos.

9

Non semper imbres nubibus Histricos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
uexant inaequales procellae
usque, nec Armeniis in oris,
amice Valgi, stat glacies iners 5
mensis per omnis aut Aquilonibus
querqueta Gargani laborant
et foliis uiduantur orni:
tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero 10
surgente decedunt amores
nec rapidum fugiente solem.
at non ter aeuo functus amabilem
plorauit omnis Antilochum senex

8.18 crescit *MSS*: ut sit *Lehrs* 8.23 24 retardet | aura *M*: retardet | cura *m*: retardant | ora *Schrader* 9.1 (H)istricos *Peerlkamp*: Histricis *Shackleton Bailey*: hispidos *MSS*

annos nec impubem parentes 15
Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores
fleuere semper. desine mollium
tandem querelarum et potius noua
cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten 20
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
uictis minores uoluere uertices
intraque praescriptum Gelonos
exiguis equitare campis.

10

Rectius uiues, Licini, neque altum
semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
litus iniquum.
auream quisquis mediocritatem 5
diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
sordibus tecti, caret inuidenda
sobrius aula.
saepius uentis agitatur ingens
pinus et celsae grauiore casu 10
decidunt turres feriuntque summos
fulgura montes.
sperat infestis, metuit secundis
alteram sortem bene praeparatum
pectus. informis hiemes reducit 15
Iuppiter, idem
summouet. non, si male nunc, et olim
sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
suscitat musam neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo. 20
rebus angustis animosus atque
fortis appare; sapienter idem
contrahes uento nimium secundo
turgida uela.

10.9 saepius *MSS*: saeuius *Burman*

11

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria
diuisus obiecto, remittas
quaerere nec trepides in usum
poscentis aeui pauca: fugit retro 5
leuis iuuentas et decor, arida
pellente lasciuos amores
canitie facilemque somnum.
non semper idem floribus est honor
uernis neque uno luna rubens nitet 10
uultu: quid aeternis minorem
consiliis animum fatigas?
cur non sub alta uel platano uel hac
pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
canos odorati capillos, 15
dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
potamus uncti? dissipat Euhius
curas edacis. quis puer ocius
restinguet ardentis Falerni
pocula praetereunte lympha? 20
quis deuium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? eburna dic, age, cum lyra
maturet, in comptum Lacaenae
more comam religata nodum.

12

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,
nec saeuos Lapithas et nimium mero 5
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuuenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni ueteris; tuque pedestribus

11.24 comas *m*: comam *M*: comae *m* 12.2 durum *M*: dirum *m* 12.9 tuque *MSS*: tu ipse *Harrison*

dices historiis proelia Caesaris, 10
Maecenas, melius ductaque per uias
regum colla minacium.
me dulces dominae Musa Licymniae
cantus, me uoluit dicere lucidum
fulgentis oculos et bene mutuis 15
fidum pectus amoribus;
quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris
nec certare ioco nec dare bracchia
ludentem nitidis uirginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die. 20
num tu quae tenuit diues Achaemenes
aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
permutare uelis crine Licymniae
plenas aut Arabum domos,
cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula 25
ceruicem aut facili saeuitia negat
quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
interdum rapere occupet?

13

Ille et nefasto te posuit die
quicumque primum, et sacrilega manu
produxit, arbos, in nepotum
perniciem opprobriumque pagi,
illum et parentis crediderim sui 5
fregisse ceruicem et penetralia
sparsisse nocturno cruore
hospitis, ille uenena Colcha
et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas
tractauit, agro qui statuit meo 10
te, triste lignum, te, caducum
in domini caput immerentis.
quid quisque uitet, numquam homini satis
cautum est in horas: nauita Bosphorum
Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra 15
caeca timet aliunde fata,

12.25 cum *M*: dum *m* 13.15 Poenus *MSS*: saeuum *Delz, alii alia*

miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
robur; sed improuisa leti
uis rapuit rapietque gentis. 20
quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum
sedesque descriptas piorum et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus 25
et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura nauis,
dura fugae mala, dura belli.
utrumque sacro digna silentio
mirantur umbrae dicere, sed magis 30
pugnas et exactos tyrannos
densum umeris bibit aure uulgus.
quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
demittit atras belua centiceps
auris et intorti capillis 35
Eumenidum recreantur angues?
quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
dulci laborem decipitur sono
nec curat Orion leones
aut timidos agitare lyncas. 40

14

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni nec pietas moram
rugis et instanti senectae
adferet indomitaeque morti,
non si trecenis quotquot eunt dies, 5
amice, places illacrimabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi
compescit unda, scilicet omnibus
quicumque terrae munere uescimur 10
enauiganda, siue reges
siue inopes erimus coloni.
frustra cruento Marte carebimus

fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
frustra per autumnos nocentem 15
corporibus metuemus Austrum:
uisendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
infame damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris. 20
linquenda tellus et domus et placens
uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum
te praeter inuisas cupressos
ulla breuem dominum sequetur;
absumet heres Caecuba degener 25
seruata centum clauibus et mero
tinget pauimentum superbo,
pontificum potiore cenis.

15

Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
moles relinquent, undique latius
extenta uisentur Lucrino
stagna lacu platanusque caelebs
euincet ulmos; tum uiolaria et 5
myrtus et omnis copia narium
spargent oliuetis odorem
fertilibus domino priori;
tum spissa ramis laurea feruidos
excludet ictus. non ita Romuli 10
praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
auspiciis ueterumque norma.
priuatus illis census erat breuis,
commune magnum; nulla decempedis
metata priuatis opacam 15
porticus excipiebat Arcton,
nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
leges sinebant, oppida publico
sumptu iubentes et deorum
templa nouo decorare saxo. 20

14.25 degener *Campbell*: dignior *MSS*

16

Otium diuos rogat in patenti
prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
    sidera nautis;
otium bello furiosa Thrace, 5
otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura
    uenale neque auro.
non enim gazae neque consularis
summouet lictor miseros tumultus 10
mentis et curas laqueata circum
    tecta uolantis.
uiuitur paruo bene, cui paternum
splendet in mensa tenui salinum
nec leuis somnos timor aut cupido 15
    sordidus aufert.
quid breui fortes iaculamur aeuo
multa? quid terras alio calentis
sole mutamus? patriae quis exul
    se quoque fugit? 20
scandit aeratas uitiosa nauis
Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
ocior ceruis et agente nimbos
    ocior Euro.
laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est 25
oderit curare et amara lento
temperet risu: nihil est ab omni
    parte beatum.
abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
longa Tithonum minuit senectus, 30
et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,
    porriget hora.
te greges centum Siculaeque circum
mugiunt uaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro 35
    murice tinctae

16.8 neque auro *M*: nec auro *m*

uestiunt lanae; mihi parua rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
    spernere uulgus. 40

17

Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?
nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
    obire, Maecenas, mearum
        grande decus columenque rerum.
a! te meae si partem animae rapit 5
maturior uis, quid moror altera,
    nec carus aeque nec superstes
        integer? ille dies utramque
ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum
dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus, 10
    utcumque praecedes, supremum
        carpere iter comites parati.
me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae
nec, si resurgat centimanus Gyges,
    diuellet umquam: sic potenti 15
        Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.
seu Libra seu me Scorpios aspicit
formidulosus, pars uiolentior
    natalis horae, seu tyrannus
        Hesperiae Capricornus undae, 20
utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
consentit astrum; te Iouis impio
    tutela Saturno refulgens
        eripuit uolucrisque Fati
tardauit alas, cum populus frequens 25
laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum;
    me truncus illapsus cerebro
        sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
dextra leuasset, Mercurialium
custos uirorum. reddere uictimas 30

17.6 altera *MSS*: alteram *Burman* 17.14 Gyges *Bentley*: gigas *MSS*

aedemque uotiuam memento;
nos humilem feriemus agnam.

18

Non ebur neque aureum
mea renidet in domo lacunar;
non trabes Hymettiae
premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa, neque Attali 5
ignotus heres regiam occupaui,
nec Laconicas mihi
trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.
at fides et ingeni
benigna uena est pauperemque dives 10
me petit; nihil supra
deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
largiora flagito,
satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
truditur dies die 15
nouaeque pergunt interire lunae;
tu secanda marmora
locas sub ipsum funus et sepulchri
immemor struis domos
marisque Bais obstrepentis urges 20
summouere litora,
parum locuples continente ripa?
quid quod usque proximos
reuellis agri terminos et ultra
limites clientium 25
salis auarus? pellitur paternos
in sinu ferens deos
et uxor et uir sordidosque natos.
nulla certior tamen
rapacis Orci fine destinata 30
aula diuitem manet
erum. quid ultra tendis? aequa tellus
pauperi recluditur
regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci

callidum Promethea 35
reuexit auro captus. hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
genus coercet, hic leuare functum
pauperem laboribus
uocatus atque non uocatus audit. 40

19

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
uidi docentem, credite posteri,
Nymphasque discentis et auris
capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu 5
plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
laetatur. euhoe, parce Liber,
parce, graui metuende thyrso.
fas peruicaces est mihi Thyiadas
uinique fontem lactis et uberes 10
cantare riuos atque truncis
lapsa cauis iterare mella;
fas et beatae coniugis additum
stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
disiecta non leni ruina, 15
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
tu separatis uuidus in iugis
nodo coerces uiperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crinis. 20
tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
unguibus horribilisque mala,
quamquam choreis aptior et iocis 25
ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
pugnae ferebaris; sed idem
pacis eras mediusque belli.
te uidit insons Cerberus aureo

18.36 reuexit *M*: reuinxit *M* 19.24 horribilisque *Bochart*: horribilique *MSS*

cornu decorum leniter atterens 30
cauda et recedentis trilingui
ore pedes tetigitque crura.

20

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
penna biformis per liquidum aethera
uates neque in terris morabor
longius inuidiaque maior
urbis relinquam. non ego pauperum 5
sanguis parentum, non ego quem uocas,
dilecte Maecenas, obibo
nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
pelles et album mutor in alitem 10
superne nascunturque leues
per digitos umerosque plumae.
iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
uisam gementis litora Bosphori
Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus 15
ales Hyperboreosque campos.
me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
noscent Geloni, me peritus
discet Hiber Rhodanique potor. 20
absint inani funere neniae
luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
compesce clamorem ac sepulchri
mitte superuacuos honores.

19.31 cauda *Harrison*: caudam *MSS*

COMMENTARY

1 SUMMARY

You, Pollio, are now writing the history of the civil wars since Metellus' consulship, a delicate task (1 8); your career as a tragic poet is now on hold you are distinguished as politician, advocate and general too (9 16). Already you attack our ears with the sounds of war, and we seem to hear of great generals in battle and the victories over all but the spirit of Cato (17 24). Africa has received revenge for Jugurtha from the descendants of his conquerors (25 8). All the land and sea of Italy has been stained by impious civil war (29 35). But this is too much lament for the lyric Muse let us return to lighter topics (37 40).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

The address to Pollio is artfully delayed until more than a third of the way through the poem. The initial focus is on the traumatic topic of civil war which also dominates the close of the poem; we think until line 7 that 1 6 represent H.'s own theme (as in some sense they do). C. Asinius Pollio (76/5 BCE 4/5 CE) was one of the most distin guished self made men of the age (for his career see Drummond 2013); coming from a regional background in central Italy, he knew Catullus (Catull. 12) and Cicero (*Fam.* 10.31 3), had served with Julius Caesar throughout the civil wars he is here represented as narrating, was praetor in 45, governor of Hispania Ulterior in 44, and held a command in Cisalpine Gaul during the Philippi campaign of 42; in 41 he supported Antony against the young Caesar, and aided the reconciliation of the two at Brindisi in 40, the year of his consul ship. He celebrated a triumph for his campaign as proconsul of Macedonia in 39 against the Parthini, and used booty from his tri umph to restore and extend the Atrium Libertatis (Suet. *Aug.* 29.5), a choice which matched his marked independence of later years (Osgood 2006: 296). After this he apparently held no commands or public positions: he did not take part in the civil war between the young Caesar and Antony, declining to serve against the latter as his former ally (Velleius 2.86.3), though he seems to have engaged on the Caesarian side in the propaganda war against Antony in the 30s BCE, writing works *contra maledicta Antoni* and *de statuis Antoni* (Charisius *GLK* 1.129.7, 1.104.18). It has been plausibly suggested

that the anti civil war views in this poem express feelings he shared by the time of H.'s ode (see West here and Osgood 2006: 296).

His main interest after his triumph seems to have been literature. He had already been a patron for the young Virgil (*E.* 3, 4 and 8), and had written tragedies which were praised by Virgil (*E.* 8.10) as well as Horace (here and *S.* 1.10.42 3), none of which survives; *Eclogue* 8 has been inter preted as suggesting that he wrote a tragedy about the coming of Antenor to Italy (see Coppola 1998). He seems to have written other types of poetry too (Pliny *Ep.* 5.3.5; the *nova carmina* attributed to him at *Eclogue* 3 are of unclear character; see Cucchiarelli 2012: 230). He was a prominent reci ter of his own writings and was the first to organise *recitationes* at Rome by personal invitation (Sen. *Contr.* 4 praef. 2); his declamations are frequently mentioned in the elder Seneca, and for his forensic orations see 13 n. In his restored Atrium Libertatis (above) was the first public library in Rome (Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.71; Pliny *NH* 7.115).

The lost *Histories* celebrated in this poem were a continuation of the *Histories* of Sallust, who had died in 35; starting from 60 (see 1 below), they certainly covered the death of Cicero in 43 (Sen. *Suas.* 6.24 5), and may have gone as far as Naulochus (for discussions of their scope see Woodman 2012: 131 3, Drummond 2013: 438 9). Scholars sometimes suggest that this poem marks the start of Pollio's work, but *tractas* (7) surely refers to a work already in progress, and some of its text was no doubt already available to H., whether in writing or through the author's recitations (see above). H. is probably writing after 29 given the clear allusion to the *Georgics* in lines 29 30; he may have expected the work in its final form to cover the wars of the 30s as well as the 40s. The principal intertext of this poem is likely to be the lost proem of the *Historiae*, which scholars have tried to reconstruct (e.g. Henderson 1998, Woodman 2012); there may also be allusions to further extant historiographical prefaces, those of Thucydides and Sallust (1 n., 2 n.). There are echoes of prominent Greek tragedies, especially of those whose plots are associated with civil struggles for supremacy in great cities such as Thebes (5 n.) and with lamentation after sea battles (34 6 n.). The poem can thus be said to colour Pollio's current literary topic of civil war with his previous literary topic of tragedy: it combines Pollio's subject matter with H.'s own medita tion on Rome's recent self destructive history, both presenting a tragic viewpoint and an awareness of the material's continuing sensitivity (6 n.). Some have indeed seen it as a tragic style catharsis of the trauma of civil war (see Bowditch 2001: 72 84).

Scholars have often suggested that Pollio may have written in the emotional style of so called 'tragic history', but this label is unhelpful, and the well known passage of Polybius on which it is usually based (2.56.6 8) points to emotional impact in history rather than (as in this

poem) the incorporation of specific literary themes from tragedy (see Marincola 2012). There is an interesting contemporary Greek text in *IG* iv^2.1.687 (= *FGrHist* 95 F 1), an inscription in the voice of the historian Philip of Pergamum which seems to copy or paraphrase the preface to a historical work of his dealing with the civil wars of the first century BCE (I cite a translation by Angelos Chaniotis, whom I thank warmly for drawing my attention to this text; see his treatment of it in Chaniotis 1988: 314 17 and the detailed discussion in Goukowski 1995):

'With my pious hand I delivered to the Greeks the historical narrative of the most recent deeds all sorts of sufferings and a continual mutual slaughter having taken place in our days in Asia and Europe, in the tribes of Libya and in the cities of the islanders; I did this so that they may learn also through us, how many evils are brought forth by courting the mob and by love of profit, by civil strifes and by the breaking of faith, and thus, by observing the sufferings of others, they may live their lives in the right way.'

Here we have emotional language and the topic of Roman civil war, both clearly parallel to Pollio's work as defined by this poem, but again no specific elements from Greek tragedy.

Structurally, the poem falls into five sections. The first two stanzas describe the subject and dangers of the topic of civil war dealt with in the *Histories* (1 8), the next two celebrate the past career of Pollio as tragedian, orator, politician and general (9 16), and the next two look forward with lively anticipation to the *Histories* themselves and their vivid presentation of events (17 24). A transitional stanza introduces a darker note in viewing Africa as the destined graveyard of the divinely doomed descendants of the Romans who conquered Jugurtha two generations before (25 8); this and what remains look like the poet's comment on the period rather than any imagined paraphrase of Pollio. This gloomy tone then continues in two stanzas which passionately lament the civil wars of H.'s lifetime in a series of highly emotional rhetorical questions of intense tragic colour (29 36), before the last stanza claims that the poem's material is getting too heavy for its lyric genre. Thus the dark nature of civil war, emphasised thoroughly in two corresponding pairs of stanzas (1 8 and 29 36), frames the main part of the poem as a topic, before the last stanza turns away. Verbal echoes of the opening in the close help to establish an element of ring composition (37 40 n.).

The poem introduces an opening sequence in this book of three poems concerned with history and civil war: 2.2 is addressed to the nephew and heir of the Sallust whose historical narrative Pollio is here said to take up, while 2.3 is addressed to Dellius, a celebrated changer of sides in the civil wars of the 30s BCE and himself a historian. For more on the structure of the book as a whole see Introduction, section 3. In its passionate medita tion on civil war, 2.1 clearly looks back to H.'s earlier works dealing with

the civil wars, *Epodes* 7 and 16, and in particular to Odes 1.2, where we again have an intense series of three consecutive rhetorical questions about the guilt of internecine strife (1.2.25 30) and an allusion to the sport of divine powers and the dreadful sights and sounds of civil battle action (1.2.37 40, this time in an address to Mars as god of thoughtless strife):

heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
quem iuuat clamor galeaeque leues,
acer et Marsi peditis cruentum
  uultus in hostem.

Similar too is the end of 1.35, where another set of passionate rhetorical questions again faces the issue of civil war and survivor guilt (1.35.33 8):

eheu, cicatricum et sceleris pudet
fratrumque. quid nos dura refugimus
  aetas, quid intactum nefasti
    liquimus? unde manum iuuentus
metu deorum continuit? Quibus
pepercit aris?

All these passages suggest that the guilt and trauma of civil war still remain an issue for Rome in the 20s BCE (cf. 5 *nondum expiatis . . . cruoribus*). At the end of 1.2 and 1.35 the young Caesar was clearly specified as the saviour of Rome from its terrible past; in 2.1 the issue of a saviour figure is not raised, and the dark shadow of Rome's recent history thus presents a suitably tragic subject for Pollio.

Select bibliography

Sallmann 1987; Lowrie 1997: 175 86; Henderson 1998: 108 62; Morgan 2000; Bowditch 2001: 72 83; Woodman 2012: 127 44.

1 motum . . . **ciuicum** 'upheaval in the state', euphemistic (so *motus, TLL* VIII.1536.84 1537.24) for the starker and more normal *bellum civile*, though it is true that actual civil war did not begin for a decade after the consulship of Metellus (60 BCE); in this prefatory context *motum* could recall the use of κίνησις of the Peloponnesian war in the proem of Thucydides (1.1.2), perhaps picked up by Pollio in his lost proem. **ex Metello consule:** for the idiom 'X as consul' to mean 'the consular year of X' see *OLD* s.v. *consul* 2. The year is 60 BCE, the consul Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, husband of the famous Clodia for his career see Skinner 2010: 79 89. The reference is to the pact between Caesar and Pompey in this year (Cic. *Att.* 2.3.3); it is seen by H. as by modern historians as a prelude to civil war and a key moment in

the end of the Roman Republic (cf. e.g. Wiseman 1994: 366 7). This starting date could have been a sub title of Pollio's work given the titles of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and the Elder Pliny's *A fine Aufidi Bassi* (Pliny *Ep.* 3.5.6). Cucchiarelli 2006: 86 notes that H.'s book begins its course with a word which suggests motion.

2 **bellique causas:** causation was a key issue in Graeco Roman as in mod ern analysis of wars (see N H here), especially in the case of Roman civil wars (see Jal 1963: 360 90), and this element is again likely to derive directly from Pollio's text; for personal vice as a key cause of civil war see next note. **uitia** 'evils, vices', presumably suggesting the special immor ality of civil war (for this view of civil war at Rome see 1.2.29, Jal 1963: 391 498). In the introduction to Book 1 of his *Histories*, of which Pollio's work was a continuation, Sallust had claimed that human *uitium* had been the cause of civil wars (fr. 9 M. *nobis primae dissensiones uitio humani ingenii euenere*: for the prefatory context see McGushin 1992: 74), while Cicero claimed that the wrong desires of individuals were the cause of the Caesar/ Pompey civil war (*Brut.* 329 *belli ciuilis causas in priuatorum cupiditatibus inclusas*). **modos** 'modalities', the ways things happened: this picks up Greek τρόπος in similar contexts of war (Polyb. 2.56.13, D.H. 5.56.1); cf. also Livy 9.14.5 *modum pacis ac belli.*

3 **ludumque Fortunae:** for civil war as a tragic divine game see 1.2.37 40, cited above, and for the *ludus* of *Fortuna* in particular in Latin literature see 3.29.49 50 *Fortuna . . . | ludum insolentem ludere pertinax* and Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 11.427; the idea that man is the 'plaything of Fortune' goes back at least to Aristotle, cited by Stobaeus (4.34.60): Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος; . . . τύχης παίγνιον, 'For what is man? . . . the toy of fortune'. Fortuna had a range of public cults at Rome (see Clark 2007: 368) see H.'s hymn to her at 1.35; Julius Caesar's well known personal links with Fortuna (cf. e.g. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 35, *Fam.* 1.9.7) might be particularly relevant here.

3 4 **grauisque | principum amicitias:** clearly a reference to the alliance of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus of 59 which heralded the end of the Republic, an early landmark in Pollio's history. In a post 27 situation the word *princeps* surely suggests the supreme role later achieved by Augustus and a (realistic) view that in effect the three were already competing for monarchical power. *grauis* here means 'dangerous for Rome': cf. similarly Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.5 *postremo Liuia grauis in rem publicam mater.* Pollio may have expressed the view that the establishment of the junta of three would inevitably lead to civil war between them, a view clearly held by Lucan (1.98 126), who may derive it from him (Morgan 2000: 58 60). *amicitia* here suggests both personal links (Pompey was of course Caesar's son in law) and political alliance (on the political sense see Brunt 1988: 351 81).

4 **arma:** a key word summarising the content of Pollio's work, emphasised by its final position in the stanza and restating its first word *motum* in starker form. It suggests both literal 'weapons' and abstract 'war'; the emphasis on impious weapons in a civil war context perhaps recalls the end of Virg. *G.* 1 (cf. 1.489 *telis,* 1.495 *pila,* 1.508 *ensem*), echoed below (29 30 n.).

5 **nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus:** *uncta* is bitterly ironic; the normal oiling of weapons for preservation (cf. e.g. Paul. exc. Fest. p. 239.2 3) is here replaced by their perverse staining with kindred blood which primes them for further bloodshed; for the same image used of foreign blood see Silius 9.13 14 *hostilique unguere primus | tela cruore.* As commentators have noted, the poetic plural *cruoribus* suggests the elevated language of Greek tragedy (αἵματα is so found in all three major tragedians: e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1293, 1510, Soph. *Ant.* 121, Eur. *Phoen.* 1051, 1292). Greek tragedy is also evoked here by the idea of blood which needs to be expiated, often in quasi familial civil struggles like those of Caesar/Pompey and Augustus/Antony (for similar links see 29 30 n.): cf. Parker 1983: 308 21.

6 **periculosae plenum opus aleae** 'a work full of dangerous dicing'; plainly alludes to Julius Caesar's famous quotation from Menander (fr. 59.4 Körte ἀνερρίφθω κύβος, 'let the die be cast') as he crossed the Rubicon (Plut. *Caes.* 32.8, *Pomp.* 60.2, Suet. *Jul.* 32, Appian *BC* 2.140); Pollio himself was present in person on that occasion (Plut. *Caes.* 32.7) and no doubt included the phrase in his *Histories.* Pollio's *Histories* was 'a work full of perilous hazard' indeed given its sensitive subject, especially if it was planned to extend to the 30s BCE and the dubious early career of the now Augustus; a parallel phrase in the preface to Tacitus' *Histories* (also a treatment of civil war), 1.2.1 *opus adgredior opimum casibus,* might suggest that the word *opus* is drawn from the preface to Pollio's homonymous work.

7 **tractas:** the verb is isolated for emphasis by enjambment and covers the literal 'handling' of the disgusting weapons of 5 (cf. 1.37.27, *OLD* s.v. 2) as well as the metaphorical 'handling' of a literary topic (*OLD* s.v. 9).

7 8 **et incedis per ignis | suppositos cineri doloso** 'and you walk through flames which lie underneath the treacherous ash'. That peri lous embers may lie under apparently harmless ash is a common idea (see N H here, Fedeli on Prop. 1.5.5); *suppositos* balances *doloso,* both suggesting deception; *cineri* here might suggest the actual ashes of those killed in the civil wars. The consequences of the Caesar/Pompey war, though concluded some twenty years before the publication of this poem, are still a live issue for Rome, as the poem's close emphasises (see esp. Bowditch 2001: 72 83).

9 seuerae Musa tragoediae: for Pollio's tragedies see introductory note above. Melpomene was later identified as the Roman Muse of tragedy (Duff and Duff 1935: 435, 635), but here Musa means 'poetry' (*OLD* s.v. 2b) with a limited element of personification; *seuerus* here matches σεμνός, 'solemn', a traditional epithet for tragedy's elevated character from the perspective of other genres (cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 501b1).

10 desit theatris: the noun (see *OLD* s.v. 1; it is a Greek loan word (θέατρον), like *tragoedia* and *cothurnus*) could indicate either conventional theatres (cf. 1.20.3) or recitation halls (cf. *Ep.* 1.19.41), with both of which Pollio was associated (see introductory note). If references to spectacular performance are to be seen in lines 17 24 (see below), the first is more likely to be emphasised here. **mox** 'in due course', picking up the similarly indefinite *paulum*, 'for a while': this is not a momentary break.

10 11 ubi publicas | res ordinaris: the full form *ordinaueris* (future perfect) is contracted to fit the metre (cf. e.g. 1.4.17, 1.11.3). As Axelson (1945: 101) notes, the verb is prosaic, reflecting the prosaic genre of history and perhaps the language of Pollio's preface (*ordinare* occurs only twice elsewhere in Horace; for its use of 'laying out' a literary work see *OLD* s.v. 1b). The unparalleled phrase *publicas res* perhaps stands for *res gestas populi Romani* (Cic. *Arch.* 31) with poetic adjective for genitive (34 5 n.); compare the similarly initial first sentence of Livy's second book: *Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas* ... *peragam* (2.1.1).

11 12 grande munus | Cecropio repetes cothurno 'you will seek again your grand task by means of the Attic buskin'; *grande munus* refers to the lofty enterprise of tragedy (*OLD* s.v. *grandis* 6). *Cecropio* ... *cothurno*: picking up Virgil's earlier praise of Pollio at *E.* 8. 10 *Sophocleo* ... *cothurno* (cf. also *Aeschyleo* ... *cothurno*). *Cecropius* = 'Attic' (after the early Attic king Cecrops), like *cothurnus* (first found in Cicero), is a poetic Grecism (cf. e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 34, *Ion* 1571), probably occurring here first in Latin. *Cecropio* ... *cothurno* goes with *repetes*; *cothurnus* seems to be used here in its metonymic sense of 'tragedy' rather than its literal sense of 'high tragic boot' (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2), just as at Prop. 2.34.41 *desine et Aeschyleo componere verba cothurno*, though its original sense of an elevated form of footwear should be felt with *grande* (cf. *AP* 80 *grandesque cothurni*; for the combina tion of high boot and high speech cf. *AP* 280 *magnumque loqui nitique cothurno*) if not perhaps with *repetes* (the picture of Pollio on high *cothurni* seems too comic here).

13 insigne maestis praesidium reis 'notable bulwark to anxious defen dants': *praesidium* both recalls H.'s encomiastic characterisation of

Maecenas as *praesidium .. meum* (1.1.2), and picks up Pollio's past military career (the defensive fighting he does nowadays is in the courts); *insigne* matches the complimentary tone of *grande.* For *maestis . . . reis* cf. Cic. *Sest.* 1 *maestos sordidatos reos,* and for the various means of projecting sadness used by defendants in the Roman courts cf. Hall 2014. The phrase as a whole recalls Cornelius Severus' panegyrical description of Cicero as advocate as *unica sollicitis quondam tutela salusque* (fr. 13.12 Courtney), and is picked up again in honouring the young orator Paullus Fabius Maximus at 4.1.14 *et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis.* Pollio was a major forensic orator, often com mended by Quintilian; he is here praised for the benevolence of his defences (cf. Malcovati 1955: 515 26).

14 consulenti . . . curiae points encomiastically to Pollio's prestigious posi tion as a relatively senior consular, likely to be asked his opinion early on in senatorial debate; for *curia* (senate house) = *senatus* (a metonymy first found in Cicero) see *OLD* s.v. 4. **Pollio:** for the postponement of the addressee's name see e.g. 2.12.11; the original reader is expected to have guessed his identity after the specific information of the third stanza.

15 laurus: personification of the bay wreath of *triumphatores* (for *laurus* in this compressed sense cf. 3.14.2 *morte uenalem . . . laurum*); recalls Pollio's *uictrices . . . laurus* of *E.* 8.13 (referring to the same triumph). **aeternos honores** suggests a permanent version of the glories of temporary political office (*honos*), conferred by the distinction of the triumph which raises Pollio above other consulars; cf. 4.9.39 *consulque non unius anni* (in a similar encomium). The phrase might also look to *honores* used of lush products of nature (*TLL* VI.2923.49 54), with *aeternus* referring to evergreen leaves (cf. Pliny *NH* 21.100), such as those in fact boasted by the bay tree (*laurus nobilis*); the temporary bay wreath of the triumph becomes everlasting.

16 Delmatico peperit triumpho: the phrase precisely balances 12 *Cecropio repetes cothurno* in shape and metrical position, stressing Pollio's equal distinction in both literature and war and his rivalling or overcoming of non Romans in both areas.

Pollio's triumph over the Parthini in modern Albania, roughly in the area of Dalmatia (both *Delm* and *Dalm* are found in both Latin and Greek, and it is hard to know which is correct) took place in the October of either 39 or 38; see N H's extensive discussion here. **peperit:** the verb looks to the vegetative imagery of *laurus* and *honores* here, since the fundamental sense of *pario* is 'to bear', used of plants as well as animals (*OLD* s.v. 3); there may be an ironic play on the traditional aetiology of the bay tree in the metamorphosis of the determinedly virginal Daphne (cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.92 *innuba laurus*).

17 24 These two stanzas have often been associated with the likely *enargeia* or vividness of Pollio's *Histories,* with their emphasis on autopsy

and personal experience (Morgan 2000, Woodman 2012). But they may also reflect the elaborate Roman dramatic productions of the late Republican and Augustan periods, in which armies of infantry and cavalry could appear on stage (see *Ep.* 2.1.189 93, Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.2, Boyle 2006: 155 6, 172 3, Manuwald 2011: 211, 321 2); Pollio's historical work is described as resembling a performance of his stage work, integrat ing the two major parts of his literary output as seen in this poem. This helps to explain the strong emphasis on aural and visual experience in these two stanzas, which has been problematic for some interpreters (see N H), and on the intransigence of Cato, who resembles a hero of the Sophoclean tragedy evoked by Virgil in his praise of Pollio (*E.* 8.10); see 14 n. Another influence on H.'s lines may be the battle narratives of Homer, with their strong emphasis on sight and sound, which also influenced Hellenistic historiography (D'Huys 1990) and were perhaps echoed in Pollio too.

17 19 iam ... **iam** ... **iam:** the insistent anaphora reflects the vivid impact of Pollio's work. These lines are imitated by Sen. *Thy.* 574 5 *iam silet murmur graue classicorum, | iam tacet stridor litui strepentis.*

17 minaci murmure cornuum: mimetic alliteration and assonance, mir roring the booming tone of horns, and echoing Lucr. 1.276 *cum fremitu saeuitque minaci murmure pontus* (and for *murmur* as the sound of a trumpet see Lucr. 4.543). For the *cornu* (G shaped trumpet, a kind of large French horn) and the *lituus* (curved wide mouthed trumpet, a kind of slender Alpenhorn) as Roman military instruments characteristically played on the battlefield see Wille 1967: 90 6, 563 4.

18 perstringis 'grate on' of sound, a use first found here (*OLD* s.v. 4). The verb occurs only here in H.; for his use of select *per* compounds see 2.13.15 n. **litui strepunt:** for *litui* see previous note, and for *strepere* of the loud noise of trumpets see Sen. *Thy.* 575 (above) and Statius *Th.* 4.95 *ut primae strepuere tubae.*

19 fulgor armorum: the phrase recurs at Liv. 22.28.8, perhaps suggesting an origin in Pollio himself; for the intimidatory sheen of arms in battle as a common topos see N H here. **fugacis:** note the pointed alliteration with *fulgor* (sheen causes flight). For panicking horses as a key feature in battle cf. e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 4.33.1, *Civ.* 3.69.3, Livy 10.36.5, 21.55.7.

20 terret equos equitumque uultus: is *uultus* (a) nominative singular and a further subject of *terret* parallel with *fulgor* (for the sense construction see e.g. 1.13.6) or (b) accusative plural and a further object of *terret*, parallel with *equos* (supported by Enn. *Ann.* 256 Sk. *equorum equitumque magister*)? Like N H I find it hard to separate *equos equitumque* as referring to two

different sides in battle as (a) requires, even if (a) is partly supported by the terror inspiring capacity of charging cavalry (cf. e.g. Livy 6.12.10, 8.39.8); this would indeed be a 'startling zeugma' (West), and it is hard to see how the features of horses (as opposed to those of warriors: cf. 1.2.39 40 *acer* . . . | *uultus in hostem*) can arouse fear. This leaves (b): the features of soldiers can express terror in battle, indeed (cf. Silius 8.333 *in uultus micat undique terror*), but *uultus* makes a somewhat odd object of *terret*; we might expect something which is the seat not the vehicle of fear. It is worth considering whether *uultus* is a corruption of a similarly shaped noun. *pectus* would give precisely the right sense; for the *pectus* as the seat of fear see *Ep.* 2.1.211 12 *poeta meum qui pectus inaniter angit, | inritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet*, *TLL* X.1.914.18 29, and for *terreo* with a psychological object in a similar context cf. Livy 8.39.4 *clamor* . . . *Samnitium terruit animos*. The reference here seems to be general rather than to any particular context of battle.

21 audire . . . **iam uideor:** N H adopt the conjecture *uidere* (Beroaldus, Bentley independently) for *audire*, on the grounds that *uidere* . . . *uideor* is a much more natural phrase with *magnos duces* as object, but cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 811 *uocem hic loquentis modo mi audire uisus sum*. Further, if Pollio's histor ical work is to be imagined as analogous to the performance of his trage dies (17 19), the difficulty of *audire* vanishes; the synaesthesia of sound and vision is of course natural for staged drama. For synaesthesia in H.'s language see N H on 1.14.6; on this feature in Latin literature see Catrein 2003, and more generally, including its popularity in Greek tragedy, perhaps relevant here, Butler and Purves 2013.

magnos . . . **duces:** points primarily to Pompeius Magnus, but *magnus* can be used of Caesar too (Catull. 11.10); both Pompey's sons also used *Magnus* as part of their name (Syme 1979: 363 5), so could be indicated here as well (with allusions to the battles of Munda in 45 and Naulochus in 36).

22 non indecoro: for the encomiastic litotes cf. e.g. *Epod.* 5.50 *non infi deles*. **puluere sordidos:** for the dust of heroic battle see N H on 1.6.14; as they point out here, there is a polar tension between *sordidos* and *non indecoro*, and both adjectives can refer to physical and moral blemishes. Dust is often mentioned as present in dramatic texts (cf. e.g. Plaut. *Cist.* 698, Soph. *Ant.* 247, 409, 419, *El.* 714, Eur. *Andr.* 112, *El.* 477, *Hec.* 325), another potential link with tragic performance here (17 24 n.).

23 cuncta terrarum subacta: the partitive genitive ('all elements of the lands of the world') is found in Livy (e.g. 5.29.4 *per auersa urbis*) but is largely poetic before Tacitus (see Shackleton Bailey 1956: 158 9, *TLL* IV.1402.44 60). *terrarum* looks especially to the Caesar/Pompey civil war, where all the key battles were fought on land in contrast with the largely naval campaigns of 38 31 BCE (alluded to in lines 33 6 below); after his

victory at Thapsus in 46 Caesar seems to have been granted a statue depicting him as surmounting the globe (Dio 43.14.6).

24 praeter atrocem animum Catonis: the significant proper name occupies the weighty last position in the stanza (balancing 28 *Iugurthae*). *atrox*, 'fierce', is not complimentary, being linked etymologically with *ater*, 'dark', and implying the irrational intransigence often associated with the unyielding and suicidal heroes of Sophoclean tragedy (Knox 1963: 15 27, 34 44). For this central characteristic of the celebrated Stoic and Republican leader M. Porcius Cato (Cato the Younger, 95 46 BCE) see the material collected by N H here. Historically, the reference is to Cato's defiant choice after the Republican defeat at Thapsus to commit suicide at Utica rather than receive the *clementia* of Caesar (Plut. *Cat. min.* 66.2, *Caes.* 54.2, Appian *Civ.* 2.98). Cato's reputation was debated in a pamphlet war following his death, in which Caesar, Cicero and Brutus participated (Goar 1987: 14 18); this passage is markedly less laudatory about Cato's suicide than 1.12.35 6 *Catonis | nobile letum* (if the mention of Cato is indeed to be retained there; for alternatives see Heyworth 1984: 72, Harrison 2014b: 80 1). Pollio him self was present at Thapsus on the other side (Plut. *Caes.* 52.8) and H.'s phrase is likely to summarise his view of Cato. Given Cato's similarity to Greek tragic heroes, it is interesting that he himself became a tragic prota gonist under the Empire in the *Cato* of Curiatius Maternus (Tac. *Dial.* 2.1).

25 8 The mention of Cato introduces the theme of war in Africa, and the common idea that Roman civil war was a perversion of 'proper' war against foreign enemies (cf. e.g. 1.2.22, 1.35.40, Jal 1963: 433 50). Though the main references are to Caesar's African campaigns of 46 (for a convenient summary see Rawson 1994: 436) and to the defeat of the Numidian leader Jugurtha, finally betrayed to Rome in 105 BCE (for the war see Crook, Lintott and Rawson 1994: 29 30), the mention of Juno's favour recalls her link with the Punic Wars (in which Cato's death site of Utica had also featured as a battle site in 203 BCE), and makes an implicit further contrast with those earlier foreign victories. Juno was probably represented by both Naevius (see Buchheit 1963: 54 5) and Ennius (see Skutsch 1985: 465 6) as favouring Carthage in the first Punic War, no doubt linked with her syncretism with Tanit, patron goddess of Carthage (cf. e.g. Virg. *A.* 1.15 16); *Afris* in 26 can mean 'Carthaginian' (cf. 4.4.42 and *OLD* s.v. 2b) as well as 'African'. She is here seen as continuing this African patronage, 'sacrifi cing' the Republican armies to Caesar in revenge for the Roman defeat of Jugurtha.

25 deorum quisquis 'whichever of the other gods' (N H), with a poetic ellipse of *alius* (cf. 2.13.8 9 *uenena Colchica | et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas*).

25 6 amicior | Afris: i.e. *quam Romanis* ; Juno's act is seen as hostile to Rome in general.

26 7 inulta cesserat impotens | tellure 'had powerlessly left that land unavenged' (for the straight ablative after *cedo* cf. e.g. 2.3.17, for the poetic *tellus* for *terra* see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.101 2). For the cata strophic consequences of divine departures from previously favoured mortal cities or families compare Fortuna's abandoning of great house holds at 1.35.24.

27 uictorum nepotes 'descendants of the victors', perhaps pointing espe cially to Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, the defeated commander at Thapsus who committed suicide after the battle, the grandson of Q. Metellus Numidicus, a major commander in the war against Jugurtha (Sall. *Jug.* 43.1); his more distant kinship with Scipio Aemilianus, the final con queror of Carthage in 146, is also relevant.

28 rettulit inferias: Scipio is seen rhetorically as a human sacrifice to the dead Jugurtha, evoking a ritual practice of epic and early Rome (see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.517 20 and N H here). *inferiae* is the standard term for offerings to the dead, *inferi* (Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.519). **Iugurthae:** emphatic placing of the name in last position in the stanza, matching *Catonis* in 24 and thus pairing the two as major opponents of Rome/Caesar in Africa. Jugurtha's resistance to Rome and eventual defeat (marked again at *Epod.* 9.23) was famously chronicled in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* of Pollio's predecessor Sallust.

29 36 These two stanzas are carefully linked by the four fold polyptoton of the interrogative adjective (*quis* ... *qui* ... *quod* ... *quae, quis* and *qui* providing neat variation of the masculine singular), with four rhetorical questions of constantly decreasing length and increasing emotional inten sity, culminating in the powerfully associative *nostro*; equally artful is the three fold variation of terms for bodies of water (*gurges* ... *flumina* ... *mare*), the series of negative terms expressing the universal pollution of the Italian landscape by the slaughter of civil war (*ignara, non decolorauere, caret*), and the three variant expressions for blood (*sanguine, caedes, cruore*). They express passionate lament for the civil wars, and seem to look in particular to the recent civil wars after the death of Caesar: 29 30 allude to Virgil's description of Pharsalus/Philippi, and the sea battles envisaged in 33 6 evoke Naulochus and Actium (see below). Some details here may draw on specific sources in Greek tragedy, especially the Persian laments for the defeat of Salamis in Aeschylus' *Persae* (see below), another way in which H.'s account of the projected material of Pollio's *Histories* evokes the same author's previous achievements in tragic drama (17 24 n.).

29 30 Latino sanguine pinguior | campus: the picture of plains fertilised by Roman corpses slain in internecine battle picks up the famous confla tion of Pharsalus and Philippi in Virgil's retrospective lament about Roman civil wars at the end of *Georgics* 1 (1.491 2 *bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*). **sepulchris impia proelia:** the language again picks up Virgil's civil war lament ; cf. *G.* 1.497 *sepulchris* (again tombs on a plain), 1.511 *Mars impius.* For the impious nature of Roman civil war cf. 2 *et uitia* with n., 3.24.25 6 *impias | caedes.*

31 testatur: the idea that a landscape can attest a deed is traditional and goes back to Greek tragedy; cf. N H here and Eur. *HF* 368 72. The Greek plain that bears witness to civil war is an ironic inversion of what seems to be Ennius' evocation of Scipio's non civil victory over Hannibal on the plain of Zama: Enn. *Var.* 8 V. *testes sunt campi magni* (see Thomas on 4.4.37 8). **auditumque Medis** 'heard by the Medes' (for the poetic simple dative of agent after a past participle cf. 2.6.5 n.). The Medes here are the Arsacid Parthians, Rome's traditional and distant enemies, who can be imagined as rejoicing at its self laceration, though it is worth noting too that Aeschylus' Persians (cf. 29 36 n.) also describe them selves as Medes (*Pers.* 238); for *Medus* = *Parthus* cf. 2.16.6, 1.2.51, 3.8.19, *CS* 54 (the usage is already found in Catull. 66.45). The implication again is that the war effort of Rome should be directed towards foreign foes; the Parthians indeed profited from Roman civil wars, especially in invading Asia Minor and Syria after Philippi (cf. Pelling 1996: 12 13).

32 Hesperiae sonitum ruinae: *Hesperiae* ('land of the West', i.e. Italy: *OLD* s.v. 2) points a polar contrast with the Eastern Parthians. *ruinae* (empha tically placed in stanza ending position) suggests the fall of a large edifice, and is similarly applied to national fortunes at 3.5.40 *Italiae ruinis.* For this metaphor of Roman civil war in particular cf. 1.2.25 6 *ruentis | imperi*; it may evoke the Stoic idea of the destruction of the universe as at 3.3.8 *ruinae*, a phenomenon compared with the Caesar/Pompey civil war by Lucan (see Roche 2009: 32 3).

33 gurges . . . flumina: *gurges* occurs only here in H. and perhaps matches *flumina* by referring to river waters (sea battles then follow in 34 6). River battles in the Caesar/Pompey civil war included the battle of the Bagradas River (49 BCE) in north Africa in which the Caesarians were defeated and Curio killed (Caes. *Civ.* 2.24 42), and Pharsalus (48 BCE), fought next to the river Enipeus (Appian *Civ.* 2.75).

33 4 lugubris . . . belli: cf. Livy 20.40.2 *lugubri bello,* Tac. *Ann.* 2.46.3 (a civil war) *bellum atrox, lugubre*; these parallels suggest a historio graphical, perhaps Pollionic origin for the phrase, though as N H point out the lamentable nature of war is traditional since Homer.

The emphatic term *belli* like *ruinae* (31) and *caedes* (35) receives emphasis through its final position in its sentence. **ignara:** again the idea that landscape can testify to deeds (31 n.); for rivers in this role see 4.4.38 *testis Metaurus flumen* with Thomas's note.

34 6 Here we seem to pass to the civil wars of the 30s, where major sea battles were much more prominent (Naulochus and Actium). These lines of lamentation seem to look to the lamenting chorus of Aeschylus' *Persians*, who see the sea and shores around Salamis as full of Persian blood and corpses (*Pers.* 419 21): θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν | ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν· | ἀκταὶ δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθυον, 'the sea was no longer visible, full of shipwrecks and the gore of men; and the shores and reefs were full of corpses'. The parallels with Horace's text are clear (34 *mare* ~ 419 θάλασσα, 35 *caedes* ~ 420 φόνου βροτῶν, 36 *ora* ~ 421 ἀκταί), and in both cases this description is set in the mouth of a speaker who is passionately lamenting the consequences of recent naval war. This echo matches the analogy drawn elsewhere in Augustan art between Actium and Salamis as decisive sea battles against oriental opponents (cf. Hölscher 1984), and by the links elsewhere in this poem with the genre of tragedy practised by Pollio (14 24 n.).

34 5 quod mare Dauniae | non decolorauere caedes? 'what sea has not been stained by slayings of Italians?' (with forceful alliteration). As com mentators have noted, *Dauniae* (strictly 'Apulian', the part of Italy once ruled by the mythical king Daunus; cf. 3.30.11 with N R) evokes H.'s local compatriots from the South (cf. 1.22.14, 3.30.11, 4.6.27) suggesting the personal impact of civil war on the poet (who seems nearly to have been drowned in the Sicilian wars of the 30s: cf. 3.4.28 with N R); *Dauniae . . . caedes* is 'adjective for genitive', standing for *Daunorum caedes* (a lofty poetic construction: see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.156 7), while *decolorare* is a rare and prosaic verb (only here in Latin poetry) fitting for a stark picture. Note the emphatic final position of the strong word *caedes*.

36 quae caret ora cruore nostro? 'what shore is without our gore?'; the alliteration picks up that of 35. The line presents a rare break after the trochee in the final line of the Alcaic stanza (cf. N H I.xliii), and the stanza concludes with the emphatic *nostro* which like *Dauniae* stresses the poet's own involvement.

37 40 The poem ends with a stanza which suggests that the subject matter is becoming too intense for lyric, rather as at 3.3.69 72:

non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae;
quo, Musa, tendis? desine peruicax
  referre sermones deorum et
    magna modis tenuare paruis.

There the danger is of straying into the territory of epic (cf. e.g. Harrison 2007b: 188). Here *nenia* (originally at Rome a musical lament performed by a female cf. Dutsch 2008) seems to translate Greek θρῆνος, 'dirge', a sub genre of lamentatory lyric particularly associated with Simonides of Ceos (but also with Pindar, cf. 4.2.21 4 with Thomas's note; Pindar is also the source for this kind of 'break off' formula where the poet presents himself as deviating from his proper topic; see N H here). The suggestion is that H.'s lighter erotic/symposiastic lyric is no place for this intense lyric of lamentation (cf. Harrison 2001: 265). Ritual lament is also a key feature of Greek tragedy, especially at the end of plays, and lyric θρῆνος is clearly influential on this element of tragedy (Swift 2010: 298 366): deviation into the tragedy which is a key part of Pollio's literary output may also be a risk here too (cf. 17 24 n., 34 6 n.). As West 1973: 31 notes, H.'s language here picks up and inverts that of the opening stanzas; Pollio's Muse is to leave the theatre, while H.'s is to stay with light lyric despite temptation to diverge into a dirge, and there are a number of verbal corrections (3 *grauisque* ~ 40 *leuiore*, 10 *desit* ~ 37 *relictis*, 11 *munus* ~ 38 *munera*, 12 *cothurno* ~ 40 *plectro*). This is a neat element of ring composition as well as an indication that H.'s own concerns are here defined as very different from Pollio's (see below on *Musa procax, retractes, quaere modos* and *leuiore plectro*).

37 relictis . . . **iocis:** cf. 3.3.69 (above) *iocosae . . . lyrae*; for *iocus* describing the lighter erotic/symposiastic topics characteristic of the *Odes* more gen erally cf. 1.2.33 54, 1.3.12, 2.19.25. **Musa procax:** cf. 3.3.70 (above) *Musa . . . peruicax*; the phrase presents a clear polar contrast with 9 *Musa tragoediae*. *Procax* (only here in the *Odes*) implies impertinent presumption (cf. *S.* 2.6.66 *uernasque procacis*, of forward slaves), as well as frivolity (*OLD* s.v.): the Muse of lyric (later identified as Terpsichore: Duff and Duff 1935: 435, 635) is here put back in her place.

38 Ceae . . . **neniae:** Simonidean θρῆνος (see on 37 40 above); for the learned geographical epithet indicating a poet by region of origin cf. 4.9.7 8 *Ceaeque . . . Camenae* (Simonides again), 1.6.2 *Maeonii . . . carminis* (Homer), 1.17.18 *fide . . . Teia* (Anacreon), *Ep.* 1.3.13 *Thebanos . . . modos* (Pindar). This kind of allusive expression goes back to Simonides himself (fr. 19.1 W Χῖος . . . ἀνήρ, 'man from Chios' = Homer). **retractes:** the Muse is warned against painful repetition of the past, whether in content (going back to the civil wars) or in genre (going back to Simonidean θρῆνος). The verb is prosaic and can imply revision of existing work (*OLD* s.v. 6b); it picks up *tractas* in 7 (H.'s lyric should not re treat Pollio's harrowing treatment of civil war history). **munera:** the gifts due to the dead (*OLD* s.v. 3), picking up *inferias* in the same sense in 28 but not otherwise used in this sense in H.

39 Dionaeo sub antro: Venus' mother Dione could be identified with her by poets since the Hellenistic period (see N H here); for *Dionaeus* = *Venerius* cf. Virg. *E.* 9.47 with Cucchiarelli's note. The grotto, the kind of environment where the Muses are to be found (cf. 3.4.40), is here also chosen as a location typical of H.'s erotic odes (cf. 1.5.4). The proper adjective *Dionaeo* contrasts pointedly with *Ceae*, indicating love not lamen tation as a theme.

40 quaere modos: the traumatic 'modalities' of civil war (2 *modos*) are now replaced by the lighter 'measures' of the lyre (2.9.9 n.); the redirec tion of the word reflects the redirection of the poem. **leuiore plectro:** primarily ablative of quality with *modos*, 'measures of lighter plectrum', with *plectrum* in its broader sense of 'lyre, lyric' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), though there may also be some element of ablative of instrument with *quaere*, suggesting musical retuning of the lyre using the literal plectrum. *leuiore* indicates generic descent to 'lower' topics within lyric, just as 4.2.33 *maiore* . . . *plectro* suggests generic ascent to epic (see Thomas's note), and contrasts specifically with *grauis* (3); *plectrum* as often points meta phorically to literary genre (see N H here). The last word of the poem points to its re established lyric genre after diversions into historiography and tragedy. For the comparative adjective in the final line of an ode cf. 2.14.28 n.

2 SUMMARY

Buried silver has no sheen, Sallust, you who object to cash unless it is properly used (1 4). Proculeius will have extended life and fame for his generosity to his brothers (5 8); you can enjoy a wider domination than world empire by subduing your own acquisitiveness (9 12). Like the latter, dropsy grows dangerously unless its causes are checked and driven from the body (13 16). Phraates may be back on the Parthian throne, but Virtue disagrees with the popular view that he is fortunate, disabusing the mob about their use of false terms (17 20); she grants true kingship and triumph only to him who can resist a backward glance at heaps of treasure (21 4).

Metre

Sapphics (see Introduction, section 7).

The C. Sallustius Crispus addressed here was the great nephew and adopted son of the famous historian of the same name, who had died

some years before in 35 BCE; it is surely no accident that this poem follows one to Pollio, author of the *Histories* which took up the story of Rome where Sallust's *Histories* left off, and is succeeded by one to Dellius, another historian of Roman civil wars (for this significant sequence see Introduction, pp. 6 7). The younger Sallust must have been relatively youthful when this ode was written in the mid 20s BCE (the reference to the recent restoration of Phraates IV to the throne of Parthia (17 n.) dates the poem to soon after 25: see Gruen 1996: 158 9, N H I.xxxii), since he lived until 20 CE (Tac. *Ann.* 3.30.3). Both Seneca and Tacitus represent him as a close friend and assistant of Augustus (Sen. *Clem.* 1.10.1, Tac. *Ann.* 1.6.3), like Proculeius, who is clearly chosen to match him (5 n.); Seneca (loc. cit.) claims that he had originally been an opponent of the *princeps* and was especially loyal to him as a result. Tacitus in his obituary (*Ann.* 3.30.3) points both to his luxurious high culture and to his vigour in action while appearing sleepy and inert. Like Maecenas (whom he resembled in several ways, as observed implicitly by Tacitus: see Byrne 1999), he remained equestrian in rank, but was clearly very wealthy, inheriting the famous *horti* of his great uncle (for which see Grimal 1969: 129 31) and acting as patron to the Greek epigrammatist Crinagoras, who celebrates his generosity (*Anth. Plan.* 40 = XXXVI G P).

We have no information about Sallust's philosophical views outside this poem, but the consistent allusions to Stoic doctrines suggest inclinations in that direction, and may also point to his great uncle's Stoicising mor alising (Earl 1962: 6). The focus of the poem on the proper use of riches is thus clearly relevant to this addressee, both for his conspicuous wealth and for his apparent interest in Stoic ideas: the initial theme of proper use of resources is picked up towards the end of the poem in the idea of the proper use of language, and both have Stoic links (3 4 n., 19 21 n.). The implication is that Sallust, like Proculeius, is using his money wisely, sponsoring poets such as Crinagoras (see above) and perhaps H. himself. The poem may also show some Platonic colour from the *Republic*, perhaps picking up the account of the tripartite soul (9 10 n.).

Structurally, the ode is arranged with especial care and artistry. It falls primarily into two symmetrical halves of three stanzas each, turning in the middle as often (see Harrison 2004), though it can also be seen as having three secondary two stanza blocks. Each half contains an exemplary human figure in the first line of its middle stanza, neatly contrasting with each other in order to convey the key message of the poem about the nature of true virtue: the generous Proculeius (5), friend of the *princeps*, who proves the genuinely lasting value of moral goodness, and the restored Phraates IV (17), enemy of the *princeps*, who suggests that political achievement is only transitory by comparison; likewise, each of these human figures is accompanied by an abstract deity in the same stanza (8

Fama, 19 *Virtus*). Each half also begins with a strong personification (1 *auaris,* 13 *indulgens sibi*), refers to moral 'kingship' as superior to political monarchy (9 *regnes,* 21 *regnum*), and mentions locations at the edges of the Roman world, Spain and north Africa in the west and south (10 12) and Parthia in the east (17). The first half twice uses the idea of increasing extent at the start of stanzas (5 *extento aeuo,* 9 *latius regnes*), while the second half twice uses the idea of the ignorance of the non elite, this time in consecutive lines (18 *plebi,* 19 *populumque*); each stanza in the first half also contains a related pair of terms (by either similarity or polar inversion) in its first and last line (1 *color* ~ 4 *splendeat,* 5 *uiuet* ~ 8 *superstes,* 9 *regnes* ~ 12 *seruiat*). The poem's two halves are linked by the contrast between taming greed and letting dropsy grow (9 *domando* ~ 13 *crescit*) and by allusions to different kinds of monarchy through the repetition of the word *uni* (12 and 22), while there is a clear ring compositional structure with reference to the theme of proper use of resources (3 4 and 19 21, especially 4 *usu* and 20 *uti*). The poem also opens and closes with contrast ing references to riches, first to silver concealed in the ground (1 2) and then to highly visible heaps of coins (23 4), with terms indicating this opposition (2 *abdito,* 24 *spectat*).

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Schröder 1999; Sutherland 2002: 81 90.

1 2 For the quasi proverbial idea that concealed silver cannot show off its sheen cf. *TGF* Adespota 389 Nauck οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ἄντροις λευκός, ὦ ξέν', ἄργυρος ('silver is not bright in caves, stranger'). **argento . . . auaris | abdito terris:** *auaris* is a strong personification (it suggests 'misers' until we read *terris* in the next line). Is *abdito* (a) 'concealed' in its natural unmined state, or (b) 'hidden' as treasure by a miser? (a) would match 3.3.49 50 *aurum inreper tum et sic melius situm, | cum terra celat,* while (b) recalls the traditional burying of treasure to conceal it, as in the plot of Plautus' *Aulularia. terris* could suggest (a) by referring to multiple natural locations (so N H), but could also be a poetic plural (cf. e.g. 2.20.3). The overall implication seems to be that Sallust himself as literary patron (see above) is no miser but knows how to spend his money properly, which might support (b) rather than (a). **inimice lamnae:** H. has only the contracted spelling *lamna* (here and *Ep.* 1.15.36), perhaps for metre's sake. For parallels see Bo 1960: 83 5; other Augustan poets have the full *lam(m)ina* (Virg. *G.* 1.143, Prop. 4.7.35, Ov. *Met.* 5.173, cf. *calidus/caldus*). The word here seems to mean 'cash', a colloquial sense (*OLD* s.v. 3), while *inimice* is adjective not noun and takes dative not genitive (cf. e.g. 1.12.22 3 *saeuis inimica Virgo | beluis*). For the phrase N H compare Silius 13.723 *auro . . . amicum.*

3 **Crispe Sallusti:** for the inversion of *gentilicium* and *cognomen* in a Horatian address cf. *Ep.* 1.2.1 *Maxime Lolli* (and in general Dickey 2000: 70). **nisi:** the clause goes with *inimice* (so Bentley); Sallust is no friend of precious metal unless it is properly used for beautiful vessels and the like, rather than stored as cash. Housman objected to the transmitted text and suggested *minuitque* for *inimice*, ingenious but unnecessary.

3 4 **temperato | splendeat usu:** the idea that metal shines best in use is a commonplace (see N H here); Tennyson picks up this line in *Ulysses* (23), 'To rust unburnished, not to shine in use'. *usu* (in emphatic final position) covers both 'use' and 'handling, wear': the primary image is that of coins (cf. *lamnae*) becoming shiny through handling, as at Ov. *Am.* 1.8.51 *aera nitent usu; argento* suggests silver coins, which also fits *splendere* (cf. *S.* 1.4.28 *argenti splendor*). *temperato* looks to the Stoic idea of the proper use of wealth (cf. *SVF* 3.117), also raised at *S.* 1.1.73 *nescis quo ualeat nummus, queam praebeat usum*? For *temperatus* as indicating philosophic restraint cf. 2.3.2 3 *mentem* ... | ... *temperatam*, similarly referring to the Stoic governing of passion by reason (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.22, 4.30, Long and Sedley 1988: 1.383).

5 **uiuet:** for the emphatic positioning of the main verb at the start of the sentence and stanza (inverting prose order) cf. 2.8.9, 2.10.13, 2.16.13, 2.16.29. **extento . . . . aeuo:** i.e. Proculeius' life will be extended by later, posthumous fame (cf. Virg. *A.* 10.468 *famam extendere factis*, N H here); *aeuum* here suggests a long period (*OLD* s.v. 3). **Proculeius:** Dio 53.4.5 records that Proculeius was the brother in law of the conspirator Murena (see 2.10, introduction) and implies he was alive after this poem was written. He was a close friend of Augustus in the early part of the latter's career (cf. Pliny *NH* 7.148 and 36.183); Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.40.6) reports that (just like Maecenas) Proculeius remained an *eques* and did not take a formal part in politics, but was used by the *princeps* as an agent for con fidential missions (see N H here for more on his career, which included assisting with the capture of Cleopatra; cf. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* 5.2). Juvenal pairs him with Maecenas as a generous patron of literature (7.94 5): thus as a living *amicus Augusti*, a private citizen and a sponsor of poets he is a neat match for the addressee Sallust here.

6 **notus in fratres animi paterni:** for the genitive construction after *notus* (more select than the usual ablative) cf. 4.13.21 2 *notaque et artium | gratarum facies*, Fedeli on Prop. 1.16.2, Tränkle 1960: 68 9; *in* indicating attitude towards after *animus* is prosaic before H. (*OLD* s.v. 10). Proculeius behaves like a benevolent father rather than a competitive brother (see N H for the latter): compare Augustus at 4.4.27 8 *Augusti paternus | in pueros animus Nerones*. There is no other record of this fraternal affection, though Quintilian preserves an ironic story about Proculeius' generosity to his son

(9.3.68); Tacitus (above) suggests that Proculeius did not defend his brother in law Murena against the wrath of Augustus.

7 **aget penna** 'will bear him on her wing', picking up the idea of extension in *extento . . . aeuo.* The picture seems to be of the winged goddess Fama (see Hardie 2011) carrying Proculeius as passenger. **metuente solui** 'that refuses to be loosed' (for *metuo* in this sense cf. 3.11.10, 4.5.20, *TLL* VIII.905.30 43), i.e. outdoing the wings of Icarus, where the wax that held them together was famously melted (another sense of *soluo, OLD* s.v. 13) by the sun cf. 4.2.2 4, Ov. *Met.* 8.226 7.

8 **Fama superstes:** the combination (again at Ov. *Tr.* 3.7.50) repeats *extento . . . aeuo*'s notion of stretching life beyond death through good reputation; *superstes* suggests that *Fama* will keep Proculeius' reputation alive after his death, behaving like a surviving relative (fitting her personi fication and the familial *fratres* and *paterni*); cf. *Epod.* 5.101 *parentes heu mihi superstites.*

9 **latius regnes:** *late regnare* is a common phrase (*TLL* IV.2.1021.67 9); here the comparative *latius* picks up the idea of extension in 5 *extento . . . aeuo,* while *regnes* points to the common Stoic idea that the wise man is king (cf. *Ep.* 1.1.107 and N H here; for the generalising subjunctive cf. 2.14.6 n.). The 'diatribic' second person is universal as often in moralising contexts (cf. 2.17.18), though its Stoic colour suggests Sallust in particular (see above).

9 10 **auidum domando | spiritum** suggests taming an unruly beast, and the image recalls Plato's famous representation of low cravings such as greed as a many headed monster which needs to be tamed by reason (*Rep.* 9.591b τὸ μὲν θηριῶδες κοιμίζεται καὶ ἡμεροῦται, 'the bestial element is managed and tamed'). Just as *domando* looks to Plato's τὸ θηριῶδες of the 'bestial' element of the tripartite soul concerned with low desires, so *spiritus* looks to his τὸ θυμοειδές (*Rep.* 9.590b), the 'spirited' part which is concerned with the higher desires which still need to be subdued by reason (*spiritus* and θυμός have the same basic sense of 'breath').

10 11 **quam si Libyam remotis | Gadibus iungas:** the joining in a single holding of Africa and Spain across barriers of continent and sea is not just a hyperbolic and fantastic expression of land greed (as in the joining of Lydia and Phrygia at 3.16.41 2), but also reflects a key historical strategy of Carthage (cf. on *uterque Poenus* below). *remotis* (a neat contrast with *iungas*) points to the traditional use of Gades (Cadiz) to represent the far West of the Roman world (2.6.1 n.) rather than more specific allusions to Spanish mines or the like.

11–12 et uterque Poenus | seruiat uni 'both Carthaginians' pairs the Punic foundation of Gades (Strabo 3.5.5) and the African homeland of Carthage, as well as suggesting the larger Carthaginian ambition to control both Spain and north Africa in the Punic Wars. The invidious term *seruiat* and the idea of intercontinental empire both point to Hannibal's ambitions of world domination as represented by hostile Roman sources (cf. e.g. Silius 17.337 (Hannibal at Zama) *certatus nobis hodie dominum accipit orbis*), while there is a pointed number contrast between *uterque* and *uni*.

13–16 The second half of the poem rather elliptically introduces the swelling disease dropsy as an analogy for the greed which forms the topic of the first half, but the connection of thought is clear enough: both greed and dropsy are diseases (of soul and body respectively) which need rapid intervention to prevent their destructive growth. The three stanzas of the second half move from the diseased body of an individual to problems in a state, reflecting the common Graeco-Roman metaphor of the 'body politic' (see Livy 2.32.8–12, McVay 2000).

13 crescit: the verb is emphatically placed in initial position and fits both greed (growing holdings: cf. 3.16.17 *crescentem . . . pecuniam*) and dropsy (swelling limbs: cf. Ser. Samm. 493–4 *acerbus | crescit hydrops*). **indulgens sibi:** a polar contrast in sense with *domando*, and a strong personification of the disease (strictly it is the sufferer who had already indulged himself), helped by the Hydra link. **dirus hydrops:** the key noun comes as a climax, artfully separated at the other end of the line from its verb. The phrase suggests the many-headed Hydra (cf. esp. *Ep.* 2.1.10 *diram . . . hydram*), especially with *crescit* (recalling the Hydra's multiplying heads). For full data on dropsy, its causes in self-indulgence (cf. Cels. 3.21.3), its symptom of thirst (cf. Cels. 3.21.4), the need to eradicate it swiftly (cf. Cels. 3.21.1–2), and its use as an analogy for avarice (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.146–7) see N–H here.

14 nec sitim pellas: so Peerlkamp, persuasively, for the transmitted *pellit*; it makes no sense to have *hydrops* as the subject of the verb since dropsy causes thirst rather than dispelling it (see above), and the generalising second-person subjunctive is precisely paralleled at 9 *regnes; pellit* is an easy false assimilation after *crescit*. The violent metaphor of *pellas* helps the Hydra image, while *sitis* is a common metaphor for greed; cf. *Ep.* 1.18.23 *argenti sitis importuna, OLD* s.v.1b. **causa morbi:** causes of disease were naturally a key concern in ancient medicine, as in the two works *de causis et signis morborum* of Aretaeus of Cappadocia (1st cent. CE; cf. Grmek 2000); compare the same phrase at Lucr. 3.1070 *morbi quia causam non tenet aeger*. In H. the *morbus* is both physical and mental: this analogy between moral corruption and physical disease goes back at least as far as Plato (Kenny 1969).

15 fugerit uenis: *fugerit* continues the animal personification of *pellas*, while *uenis* identifies the usual channels of liquids around the body in ancient physiology (cf. e.g. *S.* 2.4.25, veins as channels for wine) as well as the supposed location of thirst cf. esp. Virg. *G.* 3.482 3 *sed ubi ignea uenis | omnibus acta sitis.*

15 16 aquosus . . . | . . . **languor** 'the watery languishing'; *languor* is not used here simply as a synonym for *morbus* (contra *OLD* 1b), but rather points to the especially exhausting effects of dropsy (cf. Aretaeus *De causis et signis diuturnorum morborum* 2.1.1), while *aquosus* reflects the Greek word ὕδωρ ('water') in *hydrops*. **albo | corpore:** ablative of separation after *fugerit* (like *uenis*). *albo* points to the 'white' form of dropsy (λευκοφλεγματία, Cels. 3.21.2) as well as to the general pallor of the invalid (*OLD* s.v. 6).

17 24 The mention of the Parthian monarch links with the idea of moral kingship at 9 *latius regnes*, but otherwise follows a little abruptly from the account of greed as dropsy in 13 16; the last stanza suggests an implicit link, namely that Phraates' good fortune as king is only apparent, and that self control and the regulation of greed is true felicity.

17 redditum Cyri solio Prahaten: the medially aspirated Latin form of Greek Φραάτης is probably more authentic, though 'Phraates' is the con ventionally used form; cf. *CIL* VI.1797 *Abgar Prahates filius rex*, Goodyear on Tac. *Ann.* 2.1.2. This topical reference to the restoration of Phraates IV to the Parthian throne dates the poem to soon after 25 (see introduction above). For the grandiose phrase *Cyri solio* see Plut. *Alex.* 30.7 τὸν Κύρου θρόνον, Tac. *Ann.* 2.8.2 *solium Arsacidarum.*

18 dissidens plebi suggests the common idea of a moral aristocracy (Bramble 1974: 154 5) but the political language also evokes the ancient divisions between plebeians and patricians at Rome; cf. Val. Max. 8.9.1 *plebs dissidens a patribus.* The poetic dative construction is first found here with *dissideo*; cf. *OLD* s.v. 3a *TLL* VI.1.1468.74 7. **numero beatorum:** cf. Plut. *Solon* 27.1 εὐδαιμόνων ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων, 'the number of happy men', Sen. *Ep.* 93.5 *in numero felicium reponamus eum. beatus*, 'happy, fortunate', is a quasi philosophical usage (*OLD* s.v.1, cf. Seneca's *De vita beata*), but often plays on its other sense of 'rich' (see N H here); for the Parthian king as the supreme example of the *beatus* see 3.9.4. For the synaloepha (interlinear elision) *numero | eximit* after a Sapphic hendecasyllable cf. 2.16.24 and N H I.xliv.

19 eximit Virtus: for the grand personification of Virtus (a moralising topos: see N H) cf. 3.2.17 21, *CS* 58; there was an important cult of Virtus at Rome (Clark 2007: 5 8). For *eximo* = 'take away' cf. 3.14.14. **populum que:** reprises the idea of the separation from the masses of the intellectual aristocracy (cf. similarly 2.16.40 *spernere uulgus* with n.), and varies *plebi.*

19 21 falsis | dedocet uti | uocibus 'unteach (the people) to use false terms', picking up Stoic claims that they alone used terms in their true senses (Diog. Laert. 7.122, Long and Sedley 1988: 1.432); for *falsis* ... *uocibus* cf. Cic. *Poet.* fr.6.8 Courtney *falsis Graiorum uocibus errant*, while *dedoceo* is a rare prosaic verb (first here in poetry) appropriately most often found in Cicero's philosophical works (*Fin.* 1.20, 1.51, *Tusc.* 2.60).

21 regnum et diadema: terms applying to non Roman monarchs (for the Eastern *diadema* or royal headband see *OLD* s.v.); for the figurative king ship of the wise man cf. 9 n. **tutum:** it is a standard idea that monarchy is especially exposed to danger (cf. e.g. Soph. *OT* 585, Sen. *Thy.* 599 601 with Tarrant's note), while the wise man is safe through his virtue (cf. e.g. 1.22.1 4 with N H, Sen. *Dial.* 2.1.3 *tutus est sapiens*).

22 deferens uni: picks up *uni* at 12, again of a monarch, but here a figurative one; *deferens* is common of bestowing dominion or office on an individual (cf. *TLL* v.1.318.69 319.19). *uni* here means 'one above all' (*OLD* s.v. 8). **propriamque laurum** 'and the bay that is to keep as one's own'; the image is that of the Roman *triumphator*, whose temporary bay garland is outlasted by the achievement of moral virtue (note the rheto rical contrast with 2.1.15 16 *cui laurus aeternos honores* | ... *peperit* in the preceding poem); for the idea that even triumphs (the highest achieve ment for a Roman) do not last and that victor and vanquished are no different in the long term cf. e.g. Prop. 3.15.16, Sen. *Dial.* 11.11.4.

23 quisquis: supply *illi*, 'to him above all, whoever'. **oculo irretorto** 'with eyes not turned back', i.e. he can pass such heaps without a backward glance (see N H for the wise man's capacity to spurn wealth and not to look back); *irretorqueo* is found only here (for *retortus*, 'twisted round', cf. 3.5.22).

23 4 ingentis ... aceruos: the noun implies heaps of coin or treasure (*OLD* s.v. 1b); for the phrase in a similar context before H. cf. Cinna fr.1.1 Courtney *donorum ingentis mirabere aceruos.* As noted above, with *spectat* the poem finishes with a return to the theme of looking (or not looking) at precious metal with which it began.

3 SUMMARY

Make sure to maintain equanimity in both bad and good fortune, Dellius; you will die, whether you live in sadness or festivity (1 8). Shade and running water we see are for enjoyment: order a symposium now while fate allows (9 16). You will leave all your wealth and property to an heir (17 20): riches and ancestry make no difference all die, and we are all headed for the underworld (21 8).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

The addressee Q. Dellius is listed by the younger Seneca along with the younger Sallust, the addressee of the previous poem (Sen. *Clem.* 1.10.1), as a friend of Augustus whom the *princeps* won over from initial opposition; the elder Seneca records Messalla's quip that Dellius was the 'switchback rider of the civil wars' (*desultor bellorum ciuilium*) owing to his several changes of side, culminating in his desertion from Antony to the young Caesar just before Actium (Sen. *Suas.* 1.7). In the period 43 31 Dellius had acted as Antony's diplomatic agent in the East, summoning Cleopatra to meet Antony at Tarsus (Plut. *Ant.* 25.2) and negotiating with Herod the Great and the Parthian kingdom (Joseph. *AJ* 14.394, 15.25, *BJ* 1.290, Dio 49.39.2); for more on his career see Smith 2013 and N H here. He is known to have written a historical work narrating Antony's campaigns against Parthia, presumably published in the 30s BCE before his change of side (Strabo 11.13.3, Plut. *Ant.* 59, Smith 2013); he is thus neatly linked with the addressees of 2.1 and 2.2, matching Pollio as a contemporary historian and Sallust as an *amicus Augusti* (and the heir of a famous recent historian) see Introduction, section 3. The injunction of the first stanza to remain calm whatever happens nicely reflects his variegated political career.

Structurally, the ode falls into three parts: the first pair of stanzas which contain an opening exhortation to Dellius to maintain equanimity whatever the circumstances (1 8), a second pair of stanzas which list the preparations for a symposium (9 16), and a final group of three stanzas which stress that all, high and low, must meet death (17 28). This final theme of death is firmly anticipated in the earlier parts: Dellius is addressed as 'doomed to die' in the first stanza (4), and the Fates and their role in regulating life appear in the fourth stanza (16). Transitions between the parts are neat: the mention of Falernian in line 8 naturally leads to the symposiastic concerns of 9 16, while the mention of the Fates in 16 neatly introduces the theme of Dellius' coming death in 17, and the praise of his homes in 17 18 may pick up the location of the symposium (apparently in one of Dellius' houses: 13 14 n.); as is usual in H.'s symposiatic and erotic odes, the exhortation to enjoy oneself is wrapped up with the idea of the brevity of life and the need to make the best use of the moment (cf. e.g. 1.4.15 20, 1.9.13 18, 1.11.6 8, 2.11.5 17, 4.11.31 6, 4.12.25 7), a traditional nexus of ideas (e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 1193a 1195a, Antiphanes *AP* 11.168 =7 Gow Page, with their note). The pair of future participles in the last stanza (27 *exitura*, 28 *impositura*) pick up the similar *moriture* of the first stanza and stress in

ring composition the key message that the future of humans is predetermined.

The material of the ode is traditional sympotic moralising, and presents an eclectic range of philosophical material. Like 2.2, it evokes Stoic doctrine on restraint of passion (3 4 n.), while in its musings on death it shares much with 2.14, the ode to Postumus: death's inevitability, the need to leave wealth behind, and the requirement for all mortals however great or small to cross an infernal river (2.14.4, 2.14.21 4, 2.14.9 11, 2.14.15 18). It also alludes to Epicurean doctrine on pleasure (see Macleod 1979b), and echoes in lines 5 12 (see notes there) a famous Epicurean passage of Lucretius, in which the poet commends the simple outdoor picnic over indoor luxury (2.29 33):

cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
propter aquae riuum sub ramis arboris altae
non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant,
praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni
tempora conspergunt uiridantis floribus herbas.

Lines 5 12 also pick up Virgil's description of the farmer's outdoor symposium at *G.* 2.527 8:

ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam,
ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant.

The pastorally coloured description of the *locus amoenus* in lines 9 12 naturally draws on Virgil's *Eclogues,* specifically echoed in the pairing of pine and poplar (9 n.), the key pastoral term *umbra* (10 11 n.), and the prominent use of the pathetic fallacy in connection with trees (10 11 n.).

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Woodman 1970; Macleod 1979b [= 1983: 225 35]; Pöschl 1994; Sutherland 2002: 81 90; Nadeau 2008: 189 97.

1 2 aequam ... | ... **mentem:** the key phrase encloses its clause; the combination is imitated by later poets (Ov. *Ars* 2.248, *Pont.* 4.14. 39, Sen. *Oed.* 578, Luc. 5.727) and seems to be a variant of the more usual *aequus animus* (*Ep.* 1.11.20, 1.18.112, Plaut. *Aul.* 187, *Rud.* 402, Cato *Agr.* 5.2, Lucil. fr. 700 Marx). The idea of the even mind is very general and does not belong to any philosophical school, as also the idea of treating good fortune and adversity similarly (see N H); for *seruare mentem* of maintain ing a state of mind cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.90. **memento** 'be sure to', as often in earnest moralising exhortations to Horatian addressees; cf. 1.7.17 *finire memento* | *tristitiam,* 3.29.32 3 *quod adest memento* | *componere, Ep.* 1.8.16

praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento. **rebus in arduis:** for the sandwiched word order cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 406 *rebus in dubiis,* Ov. *Pont.* 3.2.25 *rebus in artis,* Sen. *Ag.* 154 *rebus in malis,* for the combination Cic. *Off.* 1.68 *res arduas ... plenasque laborum,* and for *arduus* in the sense of 'arduous' see *OLD* s.v. 5; *arduis* in its literal sense of 'uphill' contrasts with *aequam* in its literal sense of 'flat'. **non secus in bonis** 'just the same in good times'; Bentley's *ac* for *in* is unnecessary and the repetition of *in* neatly balances the opposites *arduis* and *bonis* (cf. similarly *Epod.* 11.4 *mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere*), also expressed by the vertical juxtaposition of the two terms at consecutive line ends (for the technique cf. 2.4.13 14 n.).

3 temperatam: expressing *temperantia,* the rational restraint exercised by the Stoic philosopher over passions (2.2.3 n.); for the construction with *ab* cf. *OLD* s.v. 4c.

3 4 insolenti ... laetitia: these terms (like *temperatam*) belong to the language of Cicero's discussions of Stoic teaching on restraining the passions. *insolens* means 'excessive' (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.42 *insolenti alacritate, OLD* s.v. 3), while *laetitia* points to immoderate happiness (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.24 *praeter modum elata laetitia*).

4 moriture 'due to die'; the participle replaces a future indicative as the apodosis of *uixeris* (i.e. 'you will die, whether you live in sorrow or joy').

5 maestus ... uixeris 'live in sadness'; for the adverbial use of the adjective cf. *S.* 1.5.93 *discedit maestus,* Bo 1960: 134. *maestus* expresses the opposite of *laetitia,* just as *uixeris* is the opposite of *moriture.* **omni tempore** 'at every instant' (ablative of point of time), already suggesting the idea of enjoying the moment (for *tempus* = 'moment' cf. *OLD* s.v. 10).

5 6 seu ... | ... seu: H. understandably spends much more time on the second and more pleasant alternative.

6 7 te ... | ... bearis 'regale yourself with (Falernian)'; note the lengthy and artificial separation of the reflexive and its verb. *bearis* is a unique contraction of *beaueris,* balancing *uixeris* as future perfect (of a life imagined as complete in the future); for the verb's archaic colour see N H, and for the ablative construction cf. 4.8.29 30 *uirum ... | ... caelo Musa beat,* and (with a pronoun) *Ep.* 1.18.75 *munere te paruo beet.* **in remoto gramine:** green grass is a key element of the traditional *locus amoenus* (pleasant landscape) along with shade (10 *umbram*) and running water (12 *lympha fugax*); here it is drawn from Lucr. 2.29 *in gramine molli* (see introduction above), and *remotus* perhaps suggests Epicurean withdrawal from the world. **per dies | festos:** proper pleasure on particular festive occasions (*per* means 'on the occasion of, each' not 'throughout') contrasts with undesirable continuous gloom *omni tempore* (5); Dellius is

complimented for proper relaxation. The phrase (and the context in general) echoes the rustic symposium at Virg. *G.* 2.527 *ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam* (see introduction above). **reclinatum:** picks up Virgil's *fususque per herbam*; for outdoor sympotic reclining elsewhere in H. cf. 1.1.21 2 *uiridi membra sub arbuto* | *stratus* with N H's note.

8 interiore nota Falerni 'with an inner brand of Falernian', i.e. with old Falernian wine stored deep within the wine cellar; cf. 3.28.2 3 (also a special wine for a celebration) *reconditum* | . . . *Caecubum. nota* (literally 'label') comes to stand by metonymy for the vintage it designates; cf. *S.* 1.10.24 *ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est, OLD* s.v. 5. For the excellence of Falernian wine see 2.6.19 20 n.

9 12 The stanza is formed of a pair of balanced rhetorical questions introduced by *quo* and *quid*, both meaning 'why' (cf. *Ep.* 1.5.12 *quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?, OLD* s.v. *quis* 16a): *trepidare riuo* (12) matches *consociare* . . . *ramis* (10 11) in phrasing, construction and strong personification, while *riuo* and *ramis* together pick up Lucretius' pastoral *locus amoenus* at 2.30 *propter aquae riuum sub ramis arboris altae* (see intro duction above). The poet presents himself as reacting to his surroundings, apparently a villa belonging to Dellius (13 n.), which naturally invite a symposium ('Why are the shady tree and rushing stream here? To provide ideal symposiastic conditions'); cf. similarly 2.11.13 16 *cur non sub alta uel platano uel hac* | *pinu iacentes* . . . | . . . *potamus* . . . ?

9 pinus ingens albaque populus: note the chiastic word order. Pine and poplar are paired at Virg. *E.* 7.66 *pinus in hortis,* | *populus in fluuiis*, and recall the idyllic landscape of Virgilian pastoral, another standard literary source for the *locus amoenus* (2.11.13 14 n.). For the white poplar see Virg. *E.* 9.41 *candida populus* and N H here; the conjunction *pinus* | *ingens* recurs at 2.10.9 10.

10 11 umbram hospitalem consociare amant | ramis 'love to bring their hospitable shade into alliance with their branches'. *amant* and *consociare* (implying the friendship which the symposium celebrates) present a strong personification of trees, again echoing a key feature of the *Eclogues* with their penchant for the 'pathetic fallacy' (plants assigned human feelings); for examples and the Theocritean background cf. Posch 1969: 92 101. *umbra* is also a key term in the landscape of the *Eclogues* (17 times). For the idea of the 'hospitable' landscape as part of the *locus amoenus* tradition going back to Plato (*Phaedr.* 230b, 259a) see N H here.

11 12 obliquo . . . **riuo:** a zig zagging stream (*OLD* s.v. *obliquus* 3). **laborat:** the metaphorical 'struggle' or 'trouble' of landscape features, as at 1.9.3 *siluae laborantes* (cf. *OLD* s.v. 3e,f), continuing the strong personification.

12 lympha fugax trepidare: the traditional para etymological link of *lympha*, 'water', with *nympha*, 'nymph' (cf. Varro *LL* 7.87 and Maltby 1991: 335) strongly assists the continuing personification here, as do the other two terms; *fugax* suggests fleeting nymphs (cf. e.g. 3.18.1 *nympharum fugien tium*) as well as running water (Virg. *E.* 4.19 *fugiens per gramina riuus*), while *trepidare* suits both rapid streams (*Ep.* 1.10.20 1 *aqua* . . . | . . . *quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure riuum*) and trembling nymphs (V.Fl. 4.399 *trepidae temptant accedere nymphae*).

13 huc: again in sympotic orders at *Epod.* 9.33 *capaciores adfer huc, puer, scyphos* (here of course Dellius passes the order to an underling; cf. 14 *iube*). The location seems to be a residence of Dellius with some rustic features, probably the *villa* of 18.

13 14 unguenta et . . . | flores amoenae . . . rosae: for these features of the Horatian symposium cf. 2.7.23, 3.24.17 (*unguenta*), 2.11.14 15 n. (*rosae*); for *amoenus* of the attractive appearance of the rose see *TLL* I.1963.73 5. **nimium breuis:** for the short life of sympotic flowers (symbolising brief human existence: 1.4.15 *uitae summa breuis*) cf. 1.36.16 *breue lilium*, and for the ephemeral rose in particular see N H here. **ferre iube:** Dellius is to command a slave, clear evidence that we are in the addressee's house not the poet's (for *(ad)ferre* of sympotic service cf. *Epod.* 9.33, on 13 above); the details of lines 9 12 might suggest a smaller property than the grand villa of line 18.

15 dum: for *dum* introducing the common theme 'enjoy while you can' in sympotic odes cf. 2.11.15 16 n.

15 16 res et aetas et sororum | fila trium patiuntur atra: ascending trico lon, with the figure three wittily within the last element (*trium*). *res* = 'circumstances' (perhaps plural, not singular), recalling 1 *rebus in arduis*. The three sisters here are the three Fates (Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos), though after 9 14 the reader also recalls by contrast the other three sister group associated with spring and celebration, the Graces (for these *sorores* cf. 3.19.17, 4.7.5). **fila . . . atra:** for the threads spun by the Fates representing human life cf. *OLD* s.v. *filum* 1c, Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.815; *ater* suggests the darkness of death as often (*OLD* s.v. 7b). **patiuntur:** cf. *dum licet* in similar contexts of 'while time allows' (15 n.).

17 cedes: the verb has the legal sense of departing and leaving vacant possession of property (*OLD* s.v. 2b), though it also has the overtone of leaving life (*S.* 1.1.119, *OLD* s.v. 2e). **coemptis saltibus:** like Catullus' Mamurra, Dellius is a man who has bought pasture land (cf. Catull. 114.1; for *saltus* in this sense see there and *OLD* s.v. 2b).

17 18 domo | uillaque: town and country houses (cf. Cic. *Dom.* 62 *domus in Palatio, uilla in Tusculano*); for *domus* in this special sense see the parallel passage 2.14.21 *linquenda domus* (see introduction above), *OLD* s.v. 2. **flauus quam Tiberis lauit:** for such villas along the Tiber (both inside and outside the city) see Pliny *NH* 3.54, 15.137, Grimal 1969: 108 19. For the 'yellow Tiber' cf. 1.2.13 *flauum Tiberim* with N H; for the poetic idea of places 'washed' by rivers cf. *Epod.* 16.27 8 *quando | Padus Matina lauerit cacumina* (this usage of *lauo* is first found in H.; (*OLD* s.v. *lauo* 5b). The third conjugation form *lauit* is more archaic and elevated than the normal first conjugation *lauat* (Virgil always uses the former); cf. Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 3.663.

19 cedes: emphatic anaphora of the same verb form after 17, again in line initial position (for the same with a noun cf. 2.16.1, 5 6); anaphora is common in moralising contexts cf. esp. 2.17.10 *ibimus, ibimus* (again of the journey of death), N H on 1.16.17.

19 20 exstructis in altum | diuitiis: suggests not only high piles of coin or treasure (cf. 2.2.23 4) but also expensive high buildings given 17 18 above (*in altum* means 'to the sky' here, *OLD* s.v. 2); cf. Cic. *Dom.* 124 *ad caelum tamen exstruit uillam in Tusculano.* For such edifices as signs of wealth cf. 3.29.9 10 with N R.

20 potietur heres: like *cedes* and *heres* (the latter emphasised by final position) *potiri* has a quasi legal colour, 'gain possession of' (*OLD* s.v. 5); on the invidious figure of the (distant?) heir's use of wealth in such morbid sympotic contexts (the underlying idea is 'you can only leave it to another so use it now') cf. 2.14.25 *absumet heres* with n.

21 diuesne: picks up *diuitiis* (20). **prisco natus ab Inacho:** i.e. of time honoured royal lineage (*natus* means 'descended' here; cf. *OLD* s.v. *nascor* 9a); Inachus was traditionally the earliest king of Argos (cf. 3.19.1) and can stand for proverbially ancient ancestry.

22 nil interest: for the common idea that both rich/aristocratic and poor/humble are equally subject to death cf. 2.14.9 12 and 2.18.32 4 n. **an:** for the rare monosyllable before the caesura in Alcaic hendecasyl lables see N H I.xli.

22 3 infima | de gente: cf. Cic. *Balb.* 18 *ex infimo genere et fortunae gradu,* Virg. *A.* 7.220 *Iouis de gente suprema.*

23 sub diuo moreris 'stay under the sky' i.e. 'live' (see N H for this common type of expression); *sub diuo* (for the phrase see N R on 3.2.5) here suggests Diespiter, the form of Jupiter linked with the sky (Var. *LL* 5.66; cf. 1.1.25 *sub Ioue* = 'under the sky'), a contrast of Jupiter's world

above with the realm of Orcus (24), the Etruscan god of the dead (see N H on 2.18.30).

24 uictima 'sacrifice to', like an animal offering, stressing the power gap between mighty gods and weak humans. **nil miserantis Orci:** for the traditional pitilessness of the gods of the underworld cf. 2.14.6 7 *illacrim abilem | Plutona*, N H on 1.24.17; for Orcus see 2.18.30 n.

25 omnes eodem cogimur: the first person plural includes the speaker with the addressee, underlining the universality of death (cf. 27 *nos*). The verb suggests the traditional group herding (*OLD* s.v. *cogo* 1) of the souls of the dead by Hermes/Mercury (see 2.18.36 8 n., Hom. *Od.* 24.1 5), per haps picking up the animal colour of *uictima*; for the idea that the same end (death) comes to all cf. 1.28.15 *omnis una manet nox* (similarly euphe mistic), Cic. *Tusc.* 3.59 *morsque est finita omnibus.*

25 7 omnium | uersatur urna . . . **| sors:** evokes the *urna* as the vessel used for lots (*sortes*) at Rome (*OLD* s.v. 2a: *uersatur* points to the shaking of the lots in the urn to mix them up; cf. *OLD* s.v. 3, *S.* 1.9.30 *mota* . . . *urna*), and as the urn that judges all in the underworld (cf. 3.1.16 *omne capax mouet urna nomen*, Virg. *A.* 6. 432 *quaesitor Minos urnam movet*). *omnium* provides emphatic moralising anaphora after *omnes* (cf. 17, 19 *cedes*); the two forms enclose line 25, stressing the key idea that death comes to all.

26 serius ocius: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.39 *quid ocius et quid serius futurum sit*; for the asyndeton in this kind of phrase (we would expect *serius aut ocius*) see N H here; for the idea that death comes slowly or quickly, unpredictable but also inevitable, see N H and Prop. 2.28.58 *longius aut propius mors sua quemque manet* with Fedeli's note.

27 exitura 'destined to emerge' from the urn when shaken (cf. *OLD* s.v. *exeo* 2e). In this context the verb also suggests 'exit' from life (= death); cf. *OLD* s.v. 7. On the ring compositional force of the two future participles in 27 8, picking up 4 *moriture*, see introduction above.

27 8 nos in aeternum | exilium impositura cumbae 'destined to load us on the boat heading for eternal exile'; for the (rare) elision between lines at this point in the Alcaic stanza cf. 3.29.35 6, and for *in* + accusative of journey destinations *OLD* s.v. 8. For the idea of death as eternal exile cf. Sen. *HF* 1223 4 *si quod exilium latet | ulterius Erebo*; the image links up with 17 19 (like an exile, Dellius will have to leave his worldly goods behind). Permanent exile (*exilium perpetuum*) was a possible punishment in Roman courts (Quint.7.4.43, *Digest* 48.19.4), an element which connects with the judicial urn here (25 7 n.). For *impono* of embarking passengers on to a ship (with dative as here) see *OLD* s.v. 4a, and for *cumba* of Charon's ferry across the Styx (the word occurs only here in H.) cf. Virg. *A.* 6.303 with

Horsfall's note; for the idea that all are destined to travel on Charon's boat cf. Prop. 3.18.24 *scandenda est torui publica cumba senis* with Fedeli's note. Death with its ultimate finality is (unsurprisingly) often found as a closural motif in the *Odes* and other Greek and Latin literature: cf. Schrijvers 1973: 145 6, Woodman and Martin on Tac. *Ann.* 3.30.1, Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997: 304.

4 SUMMARY

Do not be ashamed of your servile lover, Xanthias. Many Homeric heroes loved slaves (1 12); indeed, your Phyllis may have distinguished, even royal parentage her personal qualities suggest it (13 20). In middle age I can admire her without being smitten (21 4).

Metre

Sapphics (see Introduction, section 7).

This is the only Horatian ode addressed to someone explicitly identified as a Greek citizen male: it matches 2.5 in having a light erotic topic, the pair bringing variety after the weighty moralising of 2.1 3 (see Introduction). Many have debated whether Xanthias is a real person: his name is a typical slave name which may be relevant to the poem's theme of servile status (2 n.), but he seems to be free and relatively wealthy, with a known origin in a particular Greek city (2 n.; he does not seem to be a Roman (so West) with an evidently punning Greek pseudonym, like the luxurious Sybaris of 1.8 or the rich Gyges and swimmer Enipeus of 3.7). He appears to be of reasonably high social status as a slave owner, and the first half of the poem certainly flatters him considerably by comparing him (as an ethnic Greek) with three of the greatest Greek heroes Achilles, Ajax and Agamemnon. Just as Xanthias is elevated by this analogy, so the high status of Briseis, Tecmessa and Cassandra (see below) supports the possibility advanced (however seriously) by the poet that Phyllis is from an elite or royal back ground (11 14). The poem must be dated after H.'s fortieth birthday on 25 December BCE (23 4), one of the clearest dating indicators in Book 2 (see Introduction, section 1).

The poem falls into three sections. The first three stanzas marshal examples from Greek literature of famous heroes who are parallels and justifications for Xanthias' love for Phyllis, while the next two suggest that her worthy moral character should indicate high descent, and the final stanza praises her beauty but reassures Xanthias that the ageing poet is no rival for her affections. There is a pivotal point half way through, as often

(cf. Harrison 2001); this is marked by a closer focus in the poem's second half on Phyllis herself, revealing her name (14) at the start of this section and considering her personal qualities and attractions (13 24). This last stanza also turns to the poet speaker himself and his admiration for Phyllis' physical qualities: such closures focussing on erotic objects are found elsewhere in the *Odes* (cf. 2.5.21 4 n.), usually with some indication of the poet's own amatory interest; here *bracchia* ... *laudo* initially suggests this common move, but *fuge* then diverts it (perhaps unconvincingly).

As commentators have noted, this poem has clear links with the poetry of Philodemus, Greek epigrammatist and Epicurean philosopher (see introduction to 2.5), who knew Virgil and may have known H. himself (Janko 2000: 6). The catalogue of Phyllis' physical attractions at 21, shares one of its three terms (*suras* = κνήμη) with the similar list of Flora's charms at Philodemus *AP* 5.132.1 6 (= 12 Sider, with his translation):

Ὦ ποδός, ὢ κνήμης, ὢ τῶν (ἀπόλωλα δικαίως)
  μηρῶν, ὢ γλουτῶν, ὢ κτενός, ὢ λαγόνων,
ὤμοιν, ὢ μαστῶν, ὢ τοῦ ῥαδινοῖο τραχήλου,
  ὢ χειρῶν, ὢ τῶν (μαίνομαι) ὀμματίων,
ὢ κατατεχνοτάτου κινήματος, ὢ περιάλλων
  γλωττισμῶν, ὢ τῶν (θῦ' ἐμὲ) φωναρίων.

O foot, O leg, O (I'm done for) those thighs, O buttocks, O bush, O flanks,
O shoulders, O breasts, O delicate neck, O hands, O (madness!) those eyes,
O wickedly skilful walk, O fabulous kisses, O (slay me!) her speech.

The echo here is confirmed by the use of the same passage at *S.* 1.2.92 *o crus, o bracchia* (see Gowers's note). The poet's statement of his own age as relatively advanced and free from irrational passion also recalls Philodemus 11.41.1 4 (= 4 Sider, with his translation):

Ἑπτὰ τριηκόντεσσιν ἐπέρχονται λυκάβαντες,
  ἤδη μοι βιότου σχιζόμεναι σελίδες·
ἤδη καὶ λευκαί με κατασπείρουσιν ἔθειραι,
  Ξανθίππη, συνετῆς ἄγγελοι ἡλικίης.

Seven years are coming up on thirty; papyrus columns of my life now being torn off; now too, Xanthippe, white hairs besprinkle me, announcing the age of intelligence.

Here the unusual term for years (λυκάβαντες: origin and etymology dis puted, see Sider's note) seems to be picked up in H.'s ritual term *lustrum*

(23 4 n.). An echo of this poem supports the idea that H.'s disavowal of erotic interest in 22 4 is insincere (see above), since in the second half of this same epigram Philodemus (5 8) states that despite his advancing age he is still vulnerable to the madness of passion for Xanthippe. Höschele 2011: 27 9 suggests with some plausibility that H.'s poem contains further references to these two Philodemus epigrams: she argues that H.'s name Xanthias picks up Xanthippe from this poem and that his Phyllis matches Philodemus' Flora (above) in her translingual and botanical name, and that 18 *plebe dilectam* marks both echoes by picking up the etymology of Philodemus' own name, 'lover of the people' (17 18 n.).

More generally, the poem clearly represents an inversion of the traditional poetic teasing by poets of their friends about the unsuitable status of their beloved (Catullus 6 (Flavius and a common prostitute), Prop.1.9 (Ponticus and a slave girl)); it naturally exploits the elegiac motif of *seruitium amoris*, especially pointed when the lover is enslaved to a slave (6 n.). H.'s mythological parallels of Achilles and Agamemnon to justify such a liaison (2 8) are later picked up in Ovid's poem to the *ancilla* Cypassis (*Am.* 2.8.11 16; for further later examples of the motif see N H's introduction here and McKeown on the Ovid passage):

Quid, quod in ancilla siquis delinquere possit,
   illum ego contendi mente carere bona?
Thessalus ancillae facie Briseidos arsit;
   serua Mycenaeo Phoebas amata duci.
nec sum ego Tantalide maior, nec maior Achille;
   quod decuit reges, cur mihi turpe putem?

Cypassis is of course the slave of Ovid's *puella*; in the scenario of H.'s poem, the literary parallels, in all of which the hero falls in love with his own captive (2 8), suggest that Phyllis is Xanthias' own slave; the affair seems not to be adulterous and might result in marriage (13 *generum*). The Greek mythological examples of the poem's first half, consciously drawn from the Greek culture of Xanthias himself, are succeeded by more Roman moral arguments in the second half, though Phyllis' physical charms are not forgotten (21 2): her fidelity and unmercenary nature invert the usual qualities of a *hetaira* (18 19 n.), and though she has a name appropriate for a *hetaira* it is also that of a mythological heroine (14 n.); these factors suggest her suitability as a potential citizen spouse (along with the vague possibility of aristocratic ancestry as a captive). Her blonde hair is probably conventional, though it is possible that she is imagined as a captive from northern Europe (14 n.).

Bibliography

Cairns 1977; Davis 1991: 19 22; Gagliardi 1995; Sutherland 2002: 91 101; Johnson 2004: 147 53; Nadeau 2008: 189 97; Höschele 2011: 27 9; Kovacs 2015.

1 Ne 'in case'; the final clause precedes its main clause as at 2.1.37, and lines 2 8 provide supporting arguments for not feeling shame. **ancillae:** a prosaic word used only here in the *Odes*, emphatically placed to stress the stark fact of Phyllis' servile status at the start of both clause and poem. **sit** ... **tibi** ... **pudori:** the predicative dative ('be a matter of shame to you') is again prosaic, found only three times in the *Odes* (cf. 1.17.13 14, 1.28.18); for potentially shameful erotic liaisons cf. 1.27.15 16, Catull. 6.5, [Tib.] 3.12.1 2.

2 Xanthia: Xanthias is a typical slave name for Aristophanes (*Ach.* 243, *Au.* 656, *Vesp.* 1, *Ran.* 1) and in Athenian culture (Aeschin. 2.157), and a freedman name at Rome (*CIL* 6.647, 6.12027, 6.21922). The character here seems to be a free man given that his city of origin is cited (cf. similarly Calais of Thurii 3.9.14), but the servile associations of his name could amusingly help the poem's argument ('you bear a slave name and should not be ashamed of a slave love'); cf. Murgatroyd 1980. **Phoceu:** the ethic adjective could refer to Phocis near Delphi, home of Pylades (as at e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.6.15, *Tr.*1.5.21) or Ionian Phocaea, metropolis of Massilia (as at e.g. Luc. 3.697), though the inhabitants of the latter are referred to as *Phocaei* at *Epod.* 16.17. Neither city seems to have particular point for the poem, except to stress that Xanthias is a free foreigner not a slave. **prius:** used rhetorically of previous examples proving the point, as at Catull. 51.15 16. **insolentem:** probably 'unused to love' as of the *puer* at 1.5.8 *emirabitur insolens* (before Troy Achilles had had only a brief affair with Deidamia, mother of Neoptolemus), though 'insolent' is not impossible given the hero's estab lished reputation for arrogance (cf. e.g. *AP* 122); the latter would be less complimentary to Xanthias.

3 serua: reiterates the bare truth of *ancilla* (1), similarly a prosaic word and occurring only here in the *Odes*. **Briseis:** in Homer captured by Achilles from the city of Lyrnessus in Asia Minor (*Iliad* 2.689 91); for his express affection for her cf. *Il.* 9.342 3. The *Iliad* does not suggest that she has royal status, unlike Tecmessa or Cassandra (see below), though Ov. *Her.* 3.46 indicates that she comes from her city's elite. **niueo colore:** not attested in Homer but a traditional element of female beauty (for material see N H here).

4 5 mouit ... **mouit:** for the rhetorical repetition of a key term in line initial position cf. 2.3.17 19, 2.14.13 15, 2.16.1 6 and 23 4; here it

stresses the triumph of love over even the tough warriors Achilles and Ajax. **Achillem:** the greatest warrior at Troy is fittingly placed first in the list, just as his name emphatically closes the first stanza. **Aiacem Telamone natum:** i.e. of royal blood (Telamon was son of Aeacus, king of Aegina) and a suitably grand phrase (cf. N–H on 1.12.50); there is a symmetry here with the royal Tecmessa (6 n.).

6 forma: balancing *colore*, in chiastic order (*colore ... mouit ... mouit ... forma*). For the power of female beauty to move a victorious male cf. e.g. Prop. 3.11.16 *uicit uictorem candida forma uirum.* **captiuae dominum:** a significant juxtaposition of related nouns, which stresses the paradox of erotic 'enslavement' (the *seruitium amoris* of love elegy: cf. conveniently Fulkerson 2013) to a slave girl; *captiuae* picks up *serua* (3). **Tecmessae:** not named in Homer, but a significant character in Sophocles' *Ajax*, where she claims elite Phrygian descent (487–8); according to some later sources she was the daughter of Teuthras, a Mysian king whose city Ajax sacked (Dictys Cretensis 2.18). For the internal rhyme *captiuae ... Tecmessae* cf. 2.6.5.

7 arsit Atrides: emphatic initial assonance; the common erotic metaphor of burning (*OLD* s.v. *ardeo* 7 for this and the following ablative construction of the object of love, again at 3.8.6) here reflects Agamemnon's simultaneous literal burning of Troy (as West notes, this conceit is picked up from Lucr. 1.473–7). All three Greek heroes' names begin with A (Agamemnon's patronymic matches his name in this respect), forming a group of alpha-initial figures as if from a mythographical handbook: for alphabetic hero-lists see Harrison 1991: 108. Agamemnon seems to have fallen in love with Cassandra at the sack of Troy; this was perhaps narrated in the cyclic *Iliou Persis*, but is known to us since Eur. *Tro.* 255; see McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.9.37–8. **medio in triumpho:** the initial victory over Troy (OLD s.v. *triumphus* 4), not the triumphant return to Greece (as at Sen. *Ag.* 804), as *uirgine rapta* suggests.

8 uirgine forms the climax of four terms for women (1 *ancillae*, 3 *serua*, 6 *captiuae*); the last term moves towards citizen status, reflecting the overall argument of the poem. **rapta:** 'raped' (*OLD* s.v. *rapio* 4; note the pointed juxtaposition with *uirgine*), pointing to the infamous atrocity of the lesser Ajax's violation of Cassandra during Troy's fall (e.g. Tryphiodorus 647–8).

9–12 The time-indication through an expansive temporal clause suggests the ample language of scene-setting in Greek lyric poetry (cf. 1.15.1–2 *pastor cum traheret per freta nauibus | Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam*), and lingers on the Greek conquest of Troy, perhaps a further compliment to the Greek Xanthias. There is a clear link with the similar summary of the fall of Troy at Virg. *A.* 3.1–3: *Postquam res Asiae Priamique*

euertere gentem | immeritam uisum superis, ceciditque superbum | Ilium, and in general H.'s stanza echoes Virgil's account of the fall of Troy in *Aeneid* 2 (see 11 12 n.).

9 barbarae ... **turmae** presents a common Greek focalisation of Asiatic peoples as 'uncivilised' (see Hall 1989); there is some irony with the Roman military term *turmae* (*OLD* s.v.) especially given that the putative ancestors of Rome are here described.

10 Thessalo uictore: *Thessalo* points to Achilles (as at Prop. 2.22a.30, Ov. *Am.* 2.8.11 (introduction, above)) given the reference to Hector here; for the ablative absolute indicating the winner in a war or battle (going quasi adverbially with *cecidere*) cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.445 *nato victore*, Luc. 3.206 *Phoebo uictore*. **ademptus Hector** 'the removal of Hector', *ab urbe condita* con struction, used sparingly in H. (N H on 1.37.13); for the euphemistic *adimo* of death cf. 2.9.10 n.

11 12 tradidit fessis ... | .... **Grais:** cf. Virg. *A.* 2.326 7 (the priest Panthus at the sack of Troy) *ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos | transtulit*; the fatigue of the Greeks after the long siege of Troy is traditional (see N H here), but again perhaps echoes Virgil's account at 2.108 9: *saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta | moliri et longo fessi discedere bello.* **leuiora tolli** 'easier to be destroyed', with both terms used metaphorically, but it is hard not also to hear their literal senses ('lighter to be lifted'): for the infinitive construction (by analogy with *facilis*) see *OLD* s.v. *leuis* 9b. The passage alludes to statements in the *Iliad* by both Hector himself and Priam that Troy is easier to take after Hector's death (22.287 8, 24.243 40, cf. Virg. *A.* 2.291 2). **Pergama Grais:** polar juxtaposition of opposing sides, very much in the Virgilian manner (cf. Harrison 1991 Appendix C); *Pergama* (technically the citadel of Troy, then Troy itself: see *OLD* s.v.) is used five times in *Aeneid* 2. For the elevated *Graius* (the only form of the ethnic used by Virgil) as opposed to *Graecus* see N H's note here.

13 nescias an: a tentative suggestion made more so by the subjunctive of *nescias*, which seems to belong to familiar usage; the same verb form is used in main clause assertions at Plaut. *Most.* 278, *Poen.* 1416, Ter. *HT* 345, *Hec.* 618. **generum** suggests a proper marriage for Phyllis, just as *parentes* suggests a proper family, perhaps with some humour in both cases given her slave status; *gener* here means 'prospective son in law', another familiar usage (*OLD* s.v. b).

13 14 beati | .... **parentes:** noun and adjective in agreement neatly bal ance each other vertically in the same final place in the line (cf. similarly 2.3.1 2, 2.14.19 20, 26 7, 2.16.13 14; for the same feature in initial place cf. 2.8.1 2 n.); *beati* means 'rich', its primary sense (*OLD* s.v. 1).

14 Phyllidis: Phyllis is primarily a freedwoman name at Rome (Griffin 1985: 124 n.42); in poetry it can be given to (i) female characters in pastoral (Virg. *E.* 3.76, 5.10, 7.14), no doubt reflecting its Greek etymology from φύλλον, 'leaf', (ii) to *hetairai* (so 4.11.3 and Prop. 4.8.26), and (iii) to a mythological Thracian princess and lover of Theseus' son Demophoon (Prop. 2.24b.44, Ov. *Her.* 2; Murgatroyd 1980). Phyllis' servile status suggests (i) here, though (iii) is also a possible link given a potential Thracian connection (see introduction above) and that the poem presents a number of captive princesses from Greek mythology in 1–8, while the ambiguity between (i) and (iii) is the theme of the poet's argument in 13–20. **flauae:** *hetairai* are often represented as blonde (cf. e.g. Pyrrha, 1.5.4 *flauam ... comam*); this hair colour could connect with Phyllis' potential Thracian links (see above), fair hair being more common in northern Europe (cf. e.g. Luc. 10.131 with Berti's note). **decorent** 'bring distinction to' (*OLD* s.v. 4b), inverting *pudori* (1).

15 regium certe genus: sc. *est*, 'her descent is surely royal'; cf. Virg. *A.* 6.123 *et mi genus ab Ioue summo* (sc. *est*); for *certe* similarly of rhetorically asserted identity cf. Virg. *A.* 1.328 *o dea certe.* For further discussion see N–H here; Kovacs 2015 finds *genus* difficult and suggests *regium certe gemit*, 'royal is the sigh she utters', but the Virgilian parallel suggests that *genus* is fine, and as noted above Phyllis' name could suggest royal affinities. The poet seems likely to be teasing the addressee here, suggesting a lover's credulous fantasies about a beloved (cf. 17 *crede*).

15–16 et penatis | maeret iniquos 'and she laments a home which is beneath her', i.e. her current condition as a slave (*penates* here means 'home, material circumstances', cf. Sen. *Phaedr.* 209 *penates ... tenues, OLD* s.v. 2b); for *iniquus* as 'unequal, inadequate' cf. *OLD* s.v. 2c. The point is that her current home is unequal to her supposed royal background. Given the focus on Troy in the first half of this poem, *maeret* recalls the lamenting of captive Trojan queens and princesses for their new inferior servile roles and homes, a topos of Trojan tragedies (cf. e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 154–61, 360–8, *Tro.* 140–2, 202–6).

17 crede: earnestly exhorting an addressee as at *Ep.* 1.4.13 *omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum, Ep.* 1.9.13 *scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.*

17–18 illam tibi ... | ... dilectam 'that girl beloved by you', more appropriate to the context than the variant *delectam*; love is more important in this poem (cf. 1 *amor*, 4, 5 *mouit*, 7 *arsit*) than choice, and *delectam* might carry crude connotations of the slave market. Kovacs 2015 finds *dilectam* otiose and suggests *deuectam*, referring to Phyllis' carrying away into slavery, but this is not easy with *tibi*, and *dilectam* is emphatic, contrasting the

high nature of passionate love (cf. e.g. Catull. 72.3) with the low origin denied for Phyllis; Höschele 2011: 28 neatly suggests that *dilectam* and *plebe* pun on the name of the poet Philodemus (literally 'lover of the people'), echoed in lines 21 and 23 4 (see introduction above). **de scelesta | plebe:** *scelesta* is a term of colloquial abuse (*OLD* s.v. 2b), but here also looks to the opposite of the moral qualities mentioned in 18 20, and recalls traditional elite prejudice against the *plebs* at Rome; for *de* indicating forming part of a group cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1.4.16 *Epicuri de grege porcum.* **sic fidelem** 'one who is so loyal as she is', showing a virtue typical of a Roman wife (cf. e.g. Cic. *Q Fr.* 1.3.1. *fidelissimam coniugem*) and suggesting like *generum* (13) that Phyllis is suitable for marriage even if a slave, at least for the smitten Xanthias.

19 20 sic lucro auersam 'so averse from gain' (*auersus* is followed by ablative as at *S.* 2.3.107 *auersus mercaturis*); for the reinforcing repetition of *sic* cf. 1.3.1 2. Phyllis is the opposite of the traditionally rapacious *hetaira,* and matches the Roman philosophical ideal of spurning riches (cf. 3.3.49 52); both qualities again suggest a potential good wife. Kovacs 2015 suggests that the phrase implies that H. has tried and failed to seduce Phyllis via bribery, which fits with his warm admiration of her physical charms in 21 2. **potuisse nasci | matre pudenda:** the suggestion is that she comes of good stock, the opposite of *scelesta plebs*; *pudenda* picks up *pudori* (1). For the compliment that a fine person must have fine parents, which goes back to Homer, see N H here, especially *Od.* 4.64 (Menelaus to Telemachus and Peisistratus) ἐπεὶ οὔ κε κακοὶ τοιούσδε τέκοιεν, 'since no people of inferior class could bear such children'.

21 bracchia et uultum teretesque suras: for the echo in *suras* of Philodemus' catalogue of physical attractions at Philodemus *AP* 5.132 (= 12 Sider) see introduction above. The 'shapely calves' here (for *teretes . . . suras* cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.80, for *teres* of attractively smooth and shapely body parts see *OLD* s.v. 1b) suggest Phyllis' slave status, since *ancillae* wore tunics which revealed their legs, unlike the long dresses of *matronae* (cf. *S.* 1.2.94 5, Croom 2000: 77, 85).

22 integer 'untouched by desire', as at 3.7.22; see *OLD* s.v. 12. One might question whether the poet's appreciation of Phyllis is as innocent as he claims given the tendency of odes to conclude with the poet's longing (see introduction above); readers of the *Odes* are familiar with renunciations of love owing to age which are then promptly reversed (cf. e.g. 3.26.1 4, 4.1.1 8). **fuge suspicari** 'avoid being suspicious'; *fuge* picks up *crede* (17), a similarly earnest rhetorical imperative; for *fuge* with infinitive in this sense cf. 1.9.13 and *OLD* s.v. 11b, and for *suspicor* of erotic jealousy cf. 1.17.25, Prop. 2.6.14.

23 cuius = *illum cuius* (so *cui* at 2.16.13 equals *illi cui*); this form of the relative pronoun is prosaic and found only twice in the *Odes*.

23 4 octauum trepidauit aetas | claudere lustrum 'whose life has has tened to close his eighth *lustrum*', i.e. who is now past the age of forty (reached by H. in December 25 BCE). Similar statements of H.'s age are usually found in closing and opening poems (4.1.6, *Ep.* 1.20.26 9); the *lustrum* (five year ritual period, *OLD* s.v. *lustrum*²) is chosen to emphasise H.'s advancing age moving ahead in blocks, as at 4.1.6 *circa lustra decem* (also in a context of disavowal of erotic interest), but also echoes Philodemus' use of a similar technical term for time (see introduction above). The tradition of referring to one's current age in poetry goes back to Asclepiades (*AP* 12.46 = 15 Sens) and Ennius (Gellius 17.21.43). The infinitive *claudere* is a poetic construction after *trepido*, found only here and at Virg. *A.* 9.114; *aetas* means 'life' (*OLD* s.v. 5), and is found again in contexts of life's rapid disappearance at 1.11.7 8 *dum loquimur, fugerit inuida | aetas*, 2.5.13 14 *currit enim ferox | aetas*. There might be some play here between *claudeo*, 'limp' and the rapid movement implied in *trepidare*, though of course *claudere* is from *claudo*, 'close'; for the neatly self reflexive technique of using a clo sural word in a poem's last line cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1.16.79 *mors ultima linea rerum est*, where *linea* means 'finishing line' (*OLD* s.v. 6c), Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997: 16 17.

5 SUMMARY

The girl is too young for love (1 4) and is currently engaged in girlish play (5 9); be patient and wait for her to mature (9 12), for that will be soon, and then she will seek sexual satisfaction (13 16), and will match your past lovers in desirability (17 20).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

The poem (which has no indication of date) begins enigmatically with a statement about a yet to be identified person (revealed as female at 6 *iuuencae*) and then turns in line 5 6 to an unnamed male addressee (implied by *tuae*) whose identity has been problematic since antiquity (cf. Ps. Acro *incertum est, quem adloquatur hac ode, utrum amicorum aliquem an semet ipsum*); he is clearly somewhat older than the girl (13 15). The usual view is that here we have a Horatian self address, matching Catullus 8

and an ironic reversal of the immediately preceding ending of 2.4, where H. presents himself as too old for love (2.4.22 4); but Catullus' poem begins with a much more specific address of the poet by name (*miser Catulle*), and there seems to be no other analogous case of self address in the *Odes* (Citroni 1983/2009, Lowrie 1997: 22 n.3). Horatian odes can lack addres sees entirely (cf. 1.15, 2.15), or an unidentified single *tu* can be found in diatribe contexts urging general moral principles (cf. 2.18.17, 3.24.2), but no other ode has repeated second person singular addresses without a more specific identification of the addressee (1.16.1 provides no name but some closer detail: *o matre pulchra filia pulchrior*).

Those who identify a third party as addressee thus have a good case in general, though it is variously made. Amongst modern commenta tors, West suggests that H. is here 'counselling patience to a lover in a hurry' (39), following Porphyrio's *cum eo agit, qui inhabilem adhuc uiro puellam persequitur*, but does not suggest a specific addressee; Syndikus (361) agrees that it is an undefined third party; Quinn (205) argues that the poem is addressed to an older husband who has married a young bride (a common event in Rome); Baldo (2009: 249) thinks the addressee can be either the poet himself or an unnamed friend. Quinn's view is modified by Fantham 1979, who argues that the addres see is a betrothed man thinking about marriage and breeding (and that Lalage conceals a Roman girl of good family); Treggiari 1985 suggests that Lalage is on the lookout for a husband. Notwithstanding the arguments of Delignon 2012, who sees the ode as erotically epithala mial and recalling Sapphic imagery (cf. Sappho fr. 105(a) V., also adduced by Thévenaz 2007), it is hard to see that this poem is set in a marital context of any kind, despite *maritum* in 16; post wedding advice to wait for sexual consummation is inappropriate for Roman culture (see Jocelyn 1980), while the Anacreontic and Philodeman models (below) and the list of past lovers in 17 24 strongly suggests that Lalage is simply another in a sequence of non marital affairs rather than a present or future bride.

Given the apparent undesirable absence of a specific addressee, it is worth considering whether the poem contains an unnoticed address to an otherwise unknown friend Ferox (13 n.); a similar approach has suggested that *albo* (18) conceals the proper name *Albi* (18 n.). Any third party as addressee would link 2.5 with 2.4 where the poet addresses another male with erotic advice on how to deal with a female; the two poems are also held together by the occurrence of Achilles in the first stanza of 2.4 and the last of 2.5, bracketing them as a pair.

The poem has several significant earlier intertexts. Fr. 417 *PMG* of the sixth century Greek poet Anacreon of Teos, well known for his compar isons of girls with young animals (cf. frs. 346 and 408), addresses a young

girl as a 'Thracian filly' avoiding the poet's attentions (for a full analysis of the passage (possibly a complete poem) see Hutchinson 2001: 278 85):

πῶλε Θρηικίη, τί δή με
  λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα
νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ
  μ' οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;

ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι
  τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
ἡνίας δ' ἔχων στρέφοιμί
  σ' ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·

νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκεαι
  κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις,
δεξιὸν γὰρ ἱπποπείρην
  οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.

Thracian filly, why do you,
Looking at me with eyes askance
Flee me without mercy, and think
That I know nothing clever?

Let me tell you, I would be smart
At putting a bridle on you,
And drive you, holding the reins,
Around the limits of the racetrack:

But now you graze on the meadows
And play, skitting lightly,
For you don't have a skilled rider
Who knows how to handle a horse.

From Anacreon's poem, employed in the first half of the ode, H. takes the basic image of the virgin girl as a playful and elusive young animal in the countryside, changing the species (heifer not filly), the metre (Alcaic stanza not trochaic), and the addressee (the male lover, whether or not the poet himself (see above) rather than the female object of desire). The sexual image of bridling and riding is replaced by an open allusion to the act of mating in H.'s first stanza, but its erotic symbolism is echoed in that of the ripening grapes in his third. The Anacreontic poem sees the girl as now ready for love, but its Horatian counterpart advises her lover to await her future maturity. We find a similar adaptation of the same Anacreontic idea at *Odes* 3.11.9 12, again referring to a girl not ready for erotic activity and retaining the Anacreontic animal (filly).

Another much later Greek poem also underlies Horace's ode (cf. Macleod 1979a, Höschele 2011: 29 30), Philodemus *AP* 5.124 = 16 Sider, x Gow/Page, the work of a poet who lived from *c.*110 to after 55 BCE and exercised important influence on H. and other Augustan poets (cf. Armstrong, Fish and Johnston 2004):

Οὔπω σοι καλύκων γυμνὸν θέρος, οὐδὲ μελαίνει
 βότρυς ὁ παρθενίους πρωτοβολῶν χάριτας.
ἀλλ' ἤδη θοὰ τόξα νέοι θήγουσιν Ἔρωτες,
 Λυσιδίκη, καὶ πῦρ τύφεται ἐγκρύφιον.
φεύγωμεν, δυσέρωτες, ἕως βέλος οὐκ ἐπὶ νευρῇ·
 μάντις ἐγὼ μεγάλης αὐτίκα πυρκαϊῆς.

Not yet bare of its cover is your summer growth, not yet do you have a dark grape cluster to shoot forth the first rays of a young girl's charms, but already the young Erotes are whetting their swift arrows, Lysidike, and a secret fire smoulders within. Let's flee, unfortunate lovers, while the arrow is off the string. I am a prophet of a great and imminent blaze (tr. Sider 1997: 119 20).

The time terms of this poem are clearly taken up in Horace's ode, with the opening *nondum* picking up the opening Οὔπω, 'not yet', and the immi nent development of ἤδη, 'already', echoed in that of *iam* (13), and the general argument that a girl not yet ready for love will soon be available and keen is clearly the same. The agricultural metaphors of the first two lines again closely reflect the physical state of the girl's developing body; Philodemus' grape clusters seem to refer to the girl's pubic hair and sexual organs (see Sider 1997: 120 1), while those of Horace are more decorous and more general about the developing female physique. The two addres sees of Philodemus' poem, the young girl herself and the poet and his fellow lovers who will be in danger from her, are replaced by the single addressee of H.'s poem, however identified (see above). H.'s ode has four times as many lines as the epigram, and there is a feeling of partial closure in the poem when it reaches its half way stage, the end point of the epigram: Horace's poem could easily end after the third stanza (cf. Harrison 2004: 100 1). As often, the Horatian poem expands and builds on a shorter epigram form (cf. 2.8 and (e.g.) Harrison 2007b: 177 88), combined with the Anacreontic poem to form the ode's first half.

Structurally, the poem falls into three parts. Lines 1 9 outline the situation, lines 9 16 advise the addressee, and lines 17 24 compare Lalage with other love objects, giving three blocks of two stanzas and some crossover between blocks at line 9, though as argued above there is some sense of closure at line 12. The relative crudity of the opening vignette of animal mating is nicely balanced and modified by the more subtle closing picture of the effeminate Gyges. Thematically, both the

stance of distanced erotic adviser (cf. e.g. 1.5) and the concern with the right time for love (cf. e.g. 1.9.13 18) are characteristically Horatian (cf. Lyne 1980: 204 17, Ancona 1994: 22 43), and similarly Anacreontic characterisations of non compliant young girls as fleeing animals are found elsewhere in the *Odes* in 1.23 (fawn) and 3.11.9 13 (filly). The poem uses metaphors from accounting (14 15) as well as agriculture, includes occasional colloquial elements which fit a lively protreptic address (5 6, 9, 22), and finishes on a high stylistic level with a traditional poetic simile of the moon and a reminiscence of a famous mythological episode (18 24).

Select bibliography

Fantham 1979; Macleod 1979a; Jocelyn 1980; Treggiari 1985; Ancona 1994: 31 6; Sutherland 1997; Oliensis 2002: 95 100; Thévenaz 2007: 12 15; Nadeau 2008: 198 205; Schwindt 2010; Delignon 2012.

1 4 This stanza deploys the language of ploughing for sex, a well estab lished Graeco Roman metaphor (cf. Adams 1982: 154 5); line 3 adds bovine mating as a parallel for human congress (cf. similarly Ov. *Am.* 3.5.38 *tu uir et in uacca compare taurus eras*). The verbs *ferre* . . . *aequare*. . . *tolerare* indicate the conventionally passive female sexual role. The imagery is relatively crude but avoids obscenity by euphemism, fitting the literary level of lyric (cf. Catullus 11.17 10).

1 ferre iugum: both the literal plough yoke (*OLD* s.v. 1a, Calp. *Ecl.* 6.35) and the metaphorical yoke of sexual/marital subjugation (*OLD* s.v. 2a,b, Adams 1982: 207 8).

1 2 subacta . . . **ceruice:** the verb is usually used for breaking in the whole animal and is here unusually applied to a part of the animal (cf. Sen. *Dial.* 6.1.3); the verb's sexual sense is surely present here (*OLD* s.v. 3c, Adams 1982: 145 6), but the female anatomical sense of the noun (*OLD* s.v. 4a) seems not to resonate here (cf. Adams 1982: 108 9).

2 munia comparis: *munia* is a rarer and more archaic form of *munera* (see *OLD* s.v.), in H. otherwise only in *S.* and *Ep.* For the use of *munia/munera* for sexual/marital 'duties' (also early, found in Plautus) cf. *TLL* VIII.1667.11 18, Adams 1982: 164; *compar* covers both ploughing yoke mate and sexual partner (*OLD* s.v.).

3 aequare: both 'match' the yoke mate for size and pace in ploughing and 'take the weight' of the sexual mate (for *aequare* of matching size/weight cf. *OLD* s.v. 10).

3 4 ruentis | in venerem: Virgilian mating language; the verb is used of a rutting boar at *G.* 3.255 *ipse ruit . . . Sabellicus sus,* the euphemistic *in Venerem* of bovine congress at *G.* 3.64 *solue mares: mitte in venerem pecuaria primus.*

4 tolerare pondus: graphic (the cow takes the considerable weight of the bull in mating).

5 8 The locations of the stanza move from firm dry land (*campos*) through water (*fluviis*) to the nearby wetlands (*udo . . . salicto*). The unspe cific *tuae* is the first indication of an addressee in this poem (see introduc tion), while *iuuencae* continues the human/bovine ambiguity (above). The heifer/girl is not yet ready for the bull/man, and is hence still sporting with the bullocks/boys on the plains.

5 uirentes: suits both the lush grass (cf. 1.25.17) and the lush young creature, given that this verb is used of flourishing human youth (1.9.17, 4.13.6, *OLD* s.v. 3b).

5 6 circa . . . est animus . . . campos: her mind is 'off on the plains', colloquial language; cf. Ter. *Eun.* 816 *animus est in patinis. circa* here combines the idea of imagined open air circulation with that of metapho rical concern 'about' something (*OLD* s.v. 7).

6 7 nunc . . . nunc: echoes 1 2 *nondum . . . nondum,* contrasting sexualised future with playful present; for *nunc . . . nunc* pairing alternate landscapes in H. cf. 1.1.21 2, 3.1.31 2, 3.19.34 7. **fluuiis:** the plural balances that of *campos.* **gravem | solantis aestum:** *grauem . . . aestum* fits both the oppressive heat of the sun and the strong emotions of the young girl (cf. *S.* 1.2.109 *aestus curasque grauis,* Catull. 68.62 *cum grauis exustos aestus hiulcat agros*), as does *solantis,* meaning 'relieve, mitigate' (*OLD* s.v. 2); *solantis* next to *aestum* may play on *sol,* 'sun', here.

7 8 in udo . . . salicto: Cato advises planting water loving osiers near streams (*Agr.* 9.1 *salicta locis aquosis, umectis, umbrosis, propter amnes, ibi seri oportet*), and they were a good source of fodder for cattle (Lucr. 2.361 4, Virg. *G.* 3.175).

8 ludere cum uitulis 'play with the bullocks', a tamer version of the future sexual encounters with bulls of lines 3 4.

9 praegestientis: imitating Anacreon's σκιρτῶσα ('skitting'), suggesting both mental and physical playfulness; the prefix indicates youthful impatience ('is ahead of itself in desire'), and the verb is rare (found in classical Latin only here, Catull. 64.145, and Cic. *Cael.* 67). The strong syntactical pause at the caesura in the first line of the Alcaic stanza is relatively unusual (in this book only at 2.9.17, 2.17.9) and marks an emphatic struc tural point in the poem, as well as stressing the colourful verb by enjambment.

9 12 The metaphorical field now moves from livestock to the neighbour ing topic of viticulture: the young girl is compared to an unripe bunch of grapes, modifying the traditional analogy between the bride and a fruitful vine; the two metaphorical fields are already used together by Theocritus' Polyphemus (11.21) to describe his beloved Galatea: μόσχω γαυροτέρα, φιαρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς 'more skittish than the calf, sleeker than the unripe grape' (tr. Gow). The future swelling grapes suggest the curves of the girl's body developing for the delectation of the male observer (*tibi*), and *purpureo* anticipates her mature complexion.

9 tolle cupidinem 'get rid of your desire'; for the (colloquial) phrase cf. *S.* 2.7.73 *tolle periclum, Ep.* 1.12.3 *tolle querelas.*

10 16 The poet's prediction is carefully articulated by a triple *iam* and three co ordinated future verbs (*distinguet* ... *sequetur*... *petet*), with the phrase *currit enim* ... *apponet annos* as a syntactical parenthesis.

10 immitis uuae: the growing girl (like the grapes) will expand and ripen: for the image see Alcaeus 119 V. and Philodemus *AP* 5.24 (16 Sider, x Gow/Page).1 2 (cited in introduction above), and for an analogous idea cf. 3.11.11 12 *adhuc proteruo* | *cruda marito* with N R's note. **liuidos:** common of the blue grey colour of growing grapes, here apparently envisaged as reddening over time to become *purpureus.*

11 Autumnus: the (poetic and artistic) personification of this season and its connection with vintage and sexual maturity is common: cf. *Epod.* 2.17 18, Virg. *G.* 2.451 *uarios ponit fetus autumnus* (clearly a model here), Pindar *I.* 1.2.4 5, and *LIMC* v s.v. *Kairoi/Tempora Anni* 62, 72, 154, 170. **distinguet** 'will change colour by dyeing', a sense which relies on that of the simple verb *tinguere,* 'dye' (*OLD* s.v. 3); *distinguere* usually means 'mark apart' (*OLD* s. v.). **racemos:** refers to grape bunches like the collective *uvae,* but the move to the plural perhaps implies that waiting will increase volume, especially given the traditional derivation of *Autumnus* from *augere,* 'increase' (Maltby 1991: 69).

12 purpureo ... **colore:** the adjective suggests a natural grape colour (*OLD* s.v. 2), but also looks to the heightened ruddy hue of youthful facial skin (*OLD* s.v. 3b); this is more likely than a reference to the veined surface of breasts (Nisbet 1995: 386). **uarius** 'multi coloured', common for grapes, and here transferred to Autumn which effects or witnesses the colouring by poetic hypallage (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.319 *uere rubenti,* [Tib.] 3.5.4 *purpureo uere*).

13 iam te sequetur: adverb, verb, tense, person and context imitate Sappho 1.21 V. καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει 'for indeed, if she flees now, she will pursue soon enough'. The *iam* here follows that of line 12 in a

new stanza and sentence (cf. similarly 2.1.21), introducing the new idea that the girl will change her tune once properly mature.

13 14 currit enim ferox | aetas: *ferox* has been seen as a metaphor from a wild horse (cf. Plaut. *Men.* 863 *equos . . . ferocis*) in retreat (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.772 *et fugiunt freno non remorante dies*), but this seems too dramatic with the accounting metaphors of *dempserit* and *apponet* (see below), and *currit* is sufficient by itself to suggest the irrevocable and rapid progress of time (cf. 2.14.2 *labuntur anni*); here *currit* might even recall the verb's legal sense of the elapsing of a prescribed period, given the accounting context (*TLL* IV.1517.36 8). The transposition of *ferox* and *fugax* in 17 has been sug gested, but *ferox* is not really suitable for Pholoe (17 n.). If *ferox* is read as a proper name, *Ferox*, its awkwardness vanishes, and two benefits are gained: the poem receives the addressee that it needs (see introduction), and that addressee's name is at last revealed in the first line of the stanza which in its last line discloses the name of his erotic quarry (16 *Lalage*); postponement of an address by name until the second half of the poem is found elsewhere in the *Odes* (1.4, 1.7, 4.7, 4.9). For the vocative after *enim* cf. Liv. 22.39.4 *erras enim, L.Paulle*; the *cognomen* Ferox is known from T. Iulius Ferox, suffect consul of 99 CE (Pliny *Ep.* 2.11.5, *PIR* I 202), and from a number of inscriptions at Rome of unknown date (*CIL* VI.2188, 2206, 11527, 12618, 21394, 25001, 32520, 38518). Ferox could be an otherwise unknown friend of H. like the Pompeius of 2.7, and would be following his name's literal meaning in being too fierce in pursuit while the girl is too young. Such punning on the names of addressees (and of others: see 17 below) is a feature of H.'s *Odes*: Postumus ('posthumous') is an appropriate addres see for 2.14 on the inevitability of death (2.14.1 n.), while Fuscus ('dark') is greeted in a poem which evokes darkest Africa at its beginning (1.22.3), and in *Odes* 1.5.4 *flavam comam* plays on the name of its addressee Pyrrha ('red blonde').

14 15 dempserit | apponet: both accounting terms (subtracting and add ing: *OLD* s.v. 4b and 8 respectively), opposites neatly juxtaposed; for similar actuarial metaphors in the *Odes* cf. 1.1.20 *partem solido demere de die*, 1.9.14 15 *quem Fors dierum cumque dabit lucro | appone*. Editors have questioned the text (see Oslo database), but emendation seems unneces sary. The idea is that the girl acquires years as she grows up, while the older man's remaining years decrease in number as he moves closer to the end of life, and are imagined as being 'transferred' to the girl; for the allied idea of transferring one's own years to another person as a mark of affection cf. 2.16.31 2, Prop. 4.11.95, Ov. *Met.* 7.168.

15 16 proterua | fronte petet: animal imagery again, suggesting a playful head butt; for *protervus* of frisky animals cf. *OLD* s.v. 1; for *fronte petet* cf.

Virg. *E.* 3.86 7 *taurum* | *iam cornu petat*; both *proteruus* (*OLD* s.v. 2) and *frons* (*OLD* s.v. 3) also suit the future brazenness of youthful sexuality. The future *petet* is clearly correct here, matching *sequetur* in a pair of future verbs linked by repeated *iam*. **Lalage:** named at last, perhaps in the same stanza as her male pursuer (13 14 n.). The name recurs from *Odes* 1.22, and its Greek meaning of 'chatterer' is clearly appropriate for a stereo typical male view of (young) female verbosity (see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.16 17), a quality only implied here. For the status of characters with Greek female names in the *Odes* see Introduction; here it is hard to tell whether Lalage is a pseudonym for a free born Roman girl or the plausibly realistic name of a Greek speaking freedwoman. **maritum:** ambiguous between animal 'mate' and human 'husband' (*OLD* s.v. 1, 2).

17 20 The list of past lovers (containing three co ordinated items; see 20 n.) has been thought to suit a self address, but Horatian odes can list the sexual connections of others: cf. 1.33.5 9 (also including a Pholoe). 3.15.7 8 pairs a Chloris and Pholoe as mother and daughter, but these seem to be stock names in the erotic world of the *Odes* rather than designating identifiable individuals (see Introduction).

17 dilecta quantum non 'loved more than', i.e. in the future; for the phrase cf. Catull. 8.5 *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla*. **Pholoe:** a three time name for a reluctant lover in the *Odes* (see N R on 3.15.7; the name is also found at Virg. *A.* 5.285 (slave) and Tib. 1.8.69 (lover)). **fugax:** of women retreating from male pursuit, cf. *TLL* VI.1473.69; the adjective here picks up and reverses 13 *iam te sequetur*. The conjecture *ferox* (Cruquius, backed by Bentley) makes Pholoe too violent; amongst women *ferox* is reserved for such monstrously 'unfeminine' characters as Medea (*AP* 123) and Tullia (Liv.1.46.1).

18 Chloris albo ... **umero nitens:** Chloris recurs at 3.15.7, where she is however an older and less alluring character. Here the etymology from χλωρός, 'pale', suggests a pun on her shining white shoulders (for the attractiveness of white shoulders or neck see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.137 8, and for *nitens* and its cognates used of beauty cf. 1.5.13, 1.19.5, 3.12.5 and *OLD* s.v. 1). Alan Griffiths in an unpublished paper has suggested that *albo* conceals the proper name *Albi*, intriguingly intro ducing the poet Tibullus and providing a needed addressee (see introduc tion), but the known attractions of white shoulders and what would be a very late appearance of the addressee make this difficult.

19 20 ut pura nocturno renidet | luna mari: the light of the moon is a symbol of female beauty in poetry since Sappho 96.6 8 V; the astronom ical *pura* ('unobscured', *OLD* s.v. 6) may not necessarily imply virginity for Chloris. *nocturno* ... *mari* seems to be ablative of 'extension', 'over the sea

at night' (cf. Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.540), matching *albo umero* in case though not function. For *nocturnus* = 'at night' see 2.13.7.

20 Cnidiusue Gyges: clearly the third in a list of past lovers for Lalage's pursuer (for *ue* continuing a negative list after *non* cf. 4.9.19 20 *non pugnauit ingens | Idomeneus Sthenelusue solus*). Such bisexuality could suit the poet as addressee (cf. *S.* 2.3.325) but is common enough for others in the *Odes* (cf. e.g. 1.4.19 20). The name Gyges recurs for a merchant venturer in *Odes* 3.7, there suggesting Eastern riches; here his equally Eastern origin in Cnidos (in SW Turkey), with the erotic associations of a great sanctuary of Venus (cf. 1.30.1, 3.28.13) and its famously arousing Praxitelean statue of the goddess (Pliny, *Nat.* 36.20 2), adds to Gyges' sexual allure and perhaps to his epicene quality.

21 4 This final stanza clearly evokes the famous mythological episode of the discovery of the young Achilles in female disguise on Scyros by Odysseus and Diomedes, seeking to recruit him for the Trojan War (for this episode, common in ancient literature and (especially) art see N H on 1.8.13, *LIMC* I s.v. *Achilleus* 105 75, and for its popularity in Latin litera ture see Fantuzzi 2012: 21 98). H.'s stanza is indeed imitated by Statius' description of Achilles in his deceptive disguise as a girl (*Ach.* 1.336 7): *fallitque tuentes | ambiguus tenuique latens discrimine sexus.* As Oliensis 2002: 98 points out, this moment just before Achilles' career as a warrior matches Lalage's position on the verge of her erotic career. The scene on Scyros is again alluded to in *Odes* 1.8 in a closing stanza describing an attractive and gender ambiguous young man (13 16): *quid latet, ut marinae | filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troia | funera, ne uirilis | cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet cateruas.* A third closing stanza focussing on an attractive youth is found at 3.20.13 16: *fertur et leni recreare uento | sparsum odoratis umerum capillis, | qualis aut Nireus fuit aut aquosa | raptus ab Ida,* a fourth at 4.1.37 40 *Nocturnis ego somniis | iam captum teneo, iam uolucrem sequor | te per gramina Martii | campi, te per aquas, dure, uolubilis.* Such lingering vignettes (here reflecting erotic interest as at 2.12.25 8, 1.4.19 20 and 1.9.21 4) are thus an established form of Horatian closure in the *Odes* (cf. Esser 1976: 199 228).

21 choro: Greek χορός, a 'dancing group' of young girls such as that which Achilles traditionally joins in Scyros (cf. Statius *Ach.* 1.319 20).

22 mire sagaces '(even) extraordinarily keen scented guests': for the slightly colloquial expression cf. Lucr. 4.748 *mire mobilis, TLL* VIII.1077.73. **hospites:** the visitors Odysseus and Diomedes, with *sagaces* referring to the former's famous sharp intelligence (shown on this occa sion by tricking the disguised Achilles into taking up arms). For *sagax* used of Odysseus on Scyros cf. Statius *Ach.* 1.817; its fundamental canine links in

the sense of 'keen scented' (*OLD* s.v. 1) perhaps recall Athena's character isation of Odysseus as a sniffing hound at Soph. *Ajax* 8. Here there is musical rhyme between the two halves of the line in the hendecasyllable of the Alcaic, as often in H. (see Introduction); cf. similarly 2.9.22 *uictis minores uolvere vertices.*

23 discrimen obscurum 'an obscure distinction', a Horatian oxymoron (2.6.18 n.); 'female' traits (long hair and smooth features) make it hard to pick out Gyges as a male. For *discrimen* in the sense of a means of differ entiation cf. *OLD* s.v. 3b.

23 4 solutis | crinibus ambiguoque uultu 'by reason of his loose hair and his face of uncertain gender'; for the ablative of cause in H. cf. Bo 1960: 108. Roman boys' hair was normally cropped at adulthood (cf. Howell on Martial 1.31), and such girlishly long and unconfined locks show Gyges' youth and effeminacy; for *ambiguus* = 'of unclear gender' cf. Statius *Ach.* 1.337 (cited on 21 4 above) and *TLL* I.1843.61 8.

6 SUMMARY

You, Septimius, would be prepared to accompany me as your friend to hostile destinations; I would like to retire to restful Tibur after my cam paigns and travels, or if that were impossible to splendidly temperate and fertile Tarentum. You should come with me, and pay me the last rites at my death.

Metre

Sapphics (see Introduction, section 7)

The reference in line 2 to the as yet undefeated Cantabrians places this poem (like 2.11; see 2.11.1 n.) at some point after the opening of hostilities in this episodic war in NW Spain in 29 BCE (for its course see N H I.xxxi, Syme 1970, Gruen 1996: 163 6) but before its suc cessful conclusion by Agrippa in 19, recorded at *Ep.* 1.12.26. A dating after 26/25, when the Cantabrians were represented as defeated by Augustus and his subordinates (cf. 3.8.22, celebrating this) might be undiplomatic, especially as Augustus concluded his autobiography with this victory (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2); perhaps most likely is 29 26 (N H I. xxxi, Ludwig 1970: 102). The addressee is Septimius, the subject of the later *Ep.* 1.9, where he is recommended to Tiberius in 21/20 as *fortem ... bonumque*, implying a suitably soldierly addition to a military staff; he seems to have been a mutual friend of the poet and Augustus

according to the *Vita Horati* (p. 2.15 Klingner). The juxtaposition of 2.6 with 2.7 could suggest that Septimius, like the Pompeius of that poem, might have served with Horace in his military career, in Septimius' case perhaps with Maecenas in the thirties: this would suit both their warm friendship and *lasso* at line 7. Quinn holds that the Septimius of the *Epistles* is the son of the Septimius of the *Odes*, but the Septimius of 2.6 is imagined as outliving H. (22 4), and this fits *Ep.* 1.9, where H. seems to be promoting a younger friend.

Nothing is known of Septimius otherwise (see Mastrocinque 1996): Ps. Acro suggests that he had served with H. as a soldier and was of equestrian status, but this is very likely to be a conjecture from this poem (8 *militiae que*). The poem presents Septimius and H. as close friends, who could be imagined as retiring to Tarentum together (21 4); this is clearly a wishful fantasy based on literary antecedents (see below), rather than a real promise or (as Quinn maintains) a polite refusal of an actual proposal from Septimius. Tarentum is praised elsewhere in H. as a region of relaxation (9 12 n.); it may be somewhere where both H. and Septimius had occasional residences.

The poem's opening theme of perilous journey into theatres of war and far distant lands as a token of friendship recalls Catullus 11 (cf. Ludwig 1970: 104 6), a poem in the same Sapphic metre, the opening stanzas of which are evoked by H. here and in *Odes* 1.22 (for the latter see Putnam 2006: 35 8):

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
siue in extremos penetrabit Indos,
litus ut longe resonante Eoa
    tunditur unda,
siue in Hyrcanos Arabesue molles,
seu Sagas sagittiferosue Parthos,
siue quae septemgeminus colorat
    aequora Nilus,
siue trans altas gradietur Alpes,
Caesaris uisens monimenta magni,
Gallicum Rhenum horribile aequor ulti
    mosque Britannos
omnia haec, quaecumque feret uoluntas
caelitum, temptare simul parati . . .

Catullus combines distant historic Eastern locations associated with the achievements of Alexander and places recalling more contemporary cam paigns in the 50s BCE (Crassus in Parthia, Caesar in Britain); Horace follows this, linking the contemporary Cantabrian battlefields of northern Spain with the Syrtes, associated with Cato in the Civil War (3 n.), and with

Cadiz, the distant location at the edge of the Roman world in SW Spain (1 n.). There is a clear verbal echo of 11.3 4 at 2.6.3 4 (see below). West has rightly suggested that H.'s ode provides a calmer and more mature response to Catullus' passionate request, where the friends addressed are asked to deliver a devastating message to the poet's *puella* rather than invited to share his retirement. Friendship is about lifelong companion ship rather than momentary support in an erotic crisis.

Another relevant text is the episode of the old man of Tarentum in Virgil's *Georgics* (4.116 48), also set by the river Galaesus and consciously echoed in this poem (10 11 n., 21 2 n.), in which the old man makes a miraculously fertile garden out of some waste land. West has persuasively argued that the emphasis in H.'s poem on the lush and easily productive year round climate of the region is a deliberate inversion of Virgil's tale of hard won horticulture and struggles against hard winters; H. thus replaces Stoic laborious success with Epicurean easy pleasure. The *Georgics* in gen eral are a clear and convenient source in the encomium of Tarentum's climate and products (cf. 14 16, 17); if H.'s ode belongs to the early 20s (see above), this would be a natural homage to a recent work.

Structurally the poem turns in the middle, as often in the *Odes* (see Harrison 2004); the first half is full of movement from the wild to the tame, presenting possible extreme exotic destinations and then reaching the peaceful and mild Tarentum via Tibur, while the second half is a static encomiastic account of an imaginary life in residence at Tarentum. The second and third stanzas balance each other in each containing a brief account of alternative Italian destinations, the 'suburban' Tibur and the deep southern Tarentum, while the fourth and fifth stanzas stand together as a unit more fully praising the climatic advantages of Tarentum. The first and last (sixth) stanzas are linked by ring composition, both focussing on Septimius' extreme loyalty as a friend, shown in his readiness to travel with the poet to the ends of the earth and to attend to his funeral rites; and the concluding Italian 'home' location of Tarentum clearly contrasts with the distant 'away' locations of the first stanza, providing a closure which is quieter and less dramatic than the opening.

This structure is carefully articulated by verbal signposts. The first and second stanzas stress the two balancing place names by initial location (1 *Septimi, Gadis*, 5 *Tibur*) while succeeding stanzas are linked by paired relatives (9 *unde*, 17 *ubi*), and by repeated demonstrative pronouns (13 *ille*, 21 *ille*), all again carefully initially placed. As often, place names provide extended poetic colour. Each of stanzas 2 5 has two different place names or geographical adjectives, while stanza 1 has four and stanza 6 has none: furthermore, in each of stanzas 2 5, one of the two place names is Latin (*Tibur, Galaesi, Venafro, Falernis*), while the other is Greek

(*Argeo, Laconi, Hymetto, Aulon*). This especially suits the cultural environ ment of Tarentum in the heavily Hellenised deep south of Italy.

The key ideas in this poem of close friendship and quiet retirement to the peace of Italy away from Rome strongly suggest Epicurean colouring, fitting H.'s own philosophical interests elsewhere (see conveniently Moles 2007) and perhaps those of Septimius too. This is reinforced by some linguistic colour from Lucretius (14 n., 21 2 n.). The unusual and relaxed focus on the poet's own death at the end of the poem and on his affec tionate friend's attendance at his funeral seems to be a more measured and philosophical approach to the poet's staging of his own obsequies in love elegy (23 n.); for the Epicurean, *nil igitur mors est nobis neque ad nos pertinet hilum* (Lucr. 3.831), and death can therefore be contemplated with equanimity.

Select bibliography

Troxler Keller 1964: 119 26; Segal 1969; Ludwig 1970; Tränkle 1985; La Penna 1997; Magno 2000; Sutherland 2002: 101 7.

1 4 The first stanza picks out environments which are distant, forbidding or actually hostile as potentially testing destinations for Septimius' loyal companionship. The three destinations are described at increasing length, forming an ascending tricolon linked by *et . . . et.*

1 Septimi: for Septimius see introduction; only eight other of H.'s 103 odes begin with the personal name of the addressee as first word (1.1, 1.8, 1.10, 1.29, 1.33, 3.11, 3.17, 3.18). **Gades:** Cadiz, a safe Roman possession since its surrender to Scipio (206 BCE), a *municipium* since 49 BCE and a major trading port; in H.'s time it was being extensively developed by the Cornelii Balbi, influential at Rome (cf. Rodríguez Neila 1980), but the poet presents it as the distant limit of Roman dominion (cf. Juv.10.1) rather than a tourist destination. **aditure mecum:** the future participle here (as often) indicates potential readiness to go rather than immediate intention to depart, and *mecum* picks up *simul* at Catullus 11.14 (see above). The verb varies in sense between its three objects: with *Gadis* and *Syrtis* it simply means 'travel to' (*OLD* s.v. 1), while with *Cantabrum* it means 'confront in battle' (*OLD* s.v. 3). **et:** the first two lines of this poem end with *et*, uniquely for consecutive lines in Horace (cf. N H I.xliv for single lines); for the technique of final place repetition in general cf. Wills 1996: 421 2.

2 Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra: the singular collectivises the enemy as a military target and is particularly used by historians (cf. N H on 1.19.12; for such collective singulars in H. generally see Bo 1960: 361),

while the metaphor of *iuga ferre* implies subhuman status, cohering with the lack of intelligence suggested by *indoctum.* The repetition of the same metaphor in an initial position after its use in an erotic context at the beginning of the previous poem is striking (cf. 2.5.1 *ferre iugum*), and seems to link together two poems which otherwise have little connection apart from positional sequence through the idea of appropriate Roman power structures (males subdue females, Romans non Romans); in both cases the metaphor has traces of the human subjugation of animals. *noster* suggests 'our Roman' as often (2.1.36, 3.5.24, 3.6.11, 4.15.6, *OLD* s.v. 7), and like the collective singular of *Cantabrum* evokes the style of the historians.

3 4 barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper | aestuat unda: picks up 1.22.2 *Mauris iaculis,* 1.22.5 *per Syrtes . . . aestuosas* and Catull. 11.3 4 *litus ut longe resonante Eoa | tunditur unda* (see introduction); the last echo is close, with the same word accompanied by a similar geographical adjective and set in the same metrical position at the end of the first stanza. For *barbarus* of regions inhabited by 'uncivilised' peoples cf. *TLL* II.1737.18 20; the Syrtes are vast sandbanks off the Libyan coast with notorious tides (N H on 1.22.5); their link with the long desert march of the younger Cato during the Civil War in 47 BCE (Strabo 17.3.20) might here be relevant, as Septimius is imagined to be prepared to make a similar arduous journey. *aestuat* matches *aestuosas* at 1.22.5 in referring to the Syrtes' strong tides (*OLD* s.v. 4a); *Maura* is loosely used for 'African' as at 3.10.11 (in contrast with 1.22.2, where it looks to Mauretania in particular), since the Syrtes are a good distance east of Mauretanian territory.

5 8 The second stanza presents Tibur (Tivoli in Lazio, some 30 km N of Rome) as H.'s first choice of retirement location; he refers to the region's charms elsewhere (Troxler Keller 1964: 133 62). *Ep.* 1.8.12 *Romae Tibur amem uentosus, Tibure Romam* seems to suggest that by 19 BCE H. (like many Romans) had a home near Tibur, not far from his Sabine estate (sup ported by *Vita Horati* p.3.18 19 Klingner), though the two residences are identified by some (for this possibility cf. e.g. Catull. 44.1 5, and for the debate see Quilici Gigli 1996). In *Odes* 1 3, though Tibur is occasionally praised (1.7.13, 1.18.2), H. seems to present his *Sabinum* as his only country home (2.18.14 n.), while in *Odes* 4 the *Sabinum* is unmentioned and Tibur as a place is given special prominence (4.2.31, 4.3.10, Troxler Keller 1964: 140 62); one interpretation is that H. acquired a Tiburtine home between 23 and 19/16, something here still in the future (see further Günther 2013: 36 7).

5 Argeo positum colono: for the traditional foundation of Tibur by (one or a combination of) the brothers Tiburnus/Tiburtus, Catillus and Coras,

grandsons of Amphiaraus from Argos, see 1.7.13 and Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 7.671 2. The allusive *colono* could be collective singular here (for the adjective giving the metropolis cf. Virg. *A.* 1.13 *Tyrii tenuere coloni*, Luc. 2.610 *Dictaeis olim possessa colonis*); if an individual is needed, Catillus seems to be sole founder at 1.18.2 *moenia Catili*, but equally *Tibur* here could suggest Tiburnus/Tiburtus. The Greek form *Argeus* is a rare variant (*OLD* s.v.; only here in H.) for *Argiuus*, picked up at Ov. *Am.* 3.6.46 *Tiburis Argei.* For *ponere* of establishing a settlement cf. *OLD* s.v. 3, and for the dative of agent after a passive participle in poetry cf. 11 below, 2.13.13 14, 3.29.27 8 *regnata Cyro | Bactra*, and Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.6 7. The musical internal rhyme of noun and adjective in agreement at the caesura and line end of the Sapphic hendecasyllable occurs again in line 9 below and at 4.6, 10.23, 16.6, 29, 38 in this book.

6 sit meae sedes utinam senectae: the emphatically placed *meae* suggests 'my (home) too', suggesting the parallel between the original foundation of Tibur as a refuge for the exiled Greek settlers and H.'s migration there; similarly, *sedes* suggests sedentary retirement after travel. Like Virgil, H. uses the more archaic *senecta* for the less metrically tractable oblique cases of *senectus* (cf. Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.192).

7 sit modus: the repeated initial *sit* reinforces the prayer like wish (cf. similarly Virg. *A.* 6.266, 12.825 6). For *modus*, 'end', of exile cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 652 *quis modus tibi exilio tandem eueniet, quis finis fugae*, Ov. *Ars* 2.25 *sit modus exilio* (imitating H.). Peerlkamp's *domus* has some attractions but perhaps lays too much emphasis on a building.

7 8 lasso maris et uiarum | militiaeque: *lassus* (eight times in H., only here in the *Odes*) may be less elevated than its synonym *fessus* (eleven times in H., five times in the *Odes*). Commentators have generally taken the phrase to refer to H., but it could easily refer to Septimius; there is no evidence for any post Actium military service or extensive travel on Horace's part, whereas we find Septimius ready to go East to serve with Tiberius in *Ep.* 1.9 (see above). Septimius' role as Horace's companion in retirement is then appropriately emphasised both for the poet's first choice of Tibur and for his second choice of Tarentum (cf. 21 4). The phrase *maris et uiarum | militiaeque* presents an ascending tricolon (with the three genitives all governed by *modus*) leading up to the last element as the most emphatic, reinforced by its framing in a rare single word adonaean line; this last feature is found elsewhere in Horatian Sapphics only with a proper name (1.12.40 *Fabriciumque*, 1.30.8 *Mercuriusque*, 4.11.28 *Bellerophontem*).

9 12 In these two stanzas the warm Hellenising southern city of Tarentum (Taranto in modern Puglia, some 400 km S of Rome) is

presented as H.'s second choice for retirement after Tibur: for the pairing of these two destinations as Horatian retreats cf. *Ep.* 1.7.44 5 *mihi iam non regia Roma, | sed uacuum Tibur placet, aut imbelle Tarentum*, and for Tarentum in Horace and elsewhere as a pleasure resort cf. 3.5.56, *S.* 2.4.35, Troxler Keller 1964: 133 62. Some have suggested that H. also had a home at Tarentum (Lyne 1995: 10 11), but this passage is really the only evidence for this and is unspecific.

9 unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae: cf. Virg. *A.* 3.379 *prohibent nam cetera Parcae*, Statius *Theb.* 1.705 6 *iniquas | Parcarum manus* (for *iniquus* of divine malevolence see *OLD* s.v. 5). For the Parcae in general (native Italian goddesses controlling destiny) see Henrichs 2007; their interventions in H. are usually positive (see 2.16.39 and 2.17.16, Colafrancesco 1997), here not so. For the musical rhyme *Parcae ... iniquae* see 5 n.

10 11 dulce pellitis ouibus Galaesi | flumen 'the stream of Galaesus, sweet to hide wearing sheep'; for the poetic defining genitive ('the river of X' not 'river X') cf. 3.13.1 *fons Bandusiae* and Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 7.697. This is the modern river Galeso (cf. La Penna 1985), here a general indicator of the region of Tarentum, as at Virg. *G.* 4.126 *qua niger umectat flauentia culta Galaesus*; *dulce* suggests both attractiveness to sheep and fresh (non salt) water (note how it is placed vertically above its noun *flumen* at line start cf. again 13 14 *ille ... | angulus*, 2.8.1 2 n.). The sheep of Tarentum wore hide jackets to protect their especially valuable fleeces (Var. *RR* 2.2.18; for their delicate care see Col. 7.4.1 5). Here there is an element of amusing anthropomorphism in their description as *pellitis*, used elsewhere of pelt clad primitive men (Prop. 4.1.12, Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.2).

11 12 regnata petam Laconi | rura Phalantho: this time the founder is named but not the city, and the construction of *regnata ... Phalantho* ('ruled over by Phalanthus', participle governing dative; see 5 n.) balances the elevated language of *Argeo positum colono*. *Lacon* (found otherwise in H. only at *Epod.* 6.5; cf. also the one off use of *Laconicus* at 2.18.7) matches *Argeus* as a rare variant toponym in Latin (the usual Latin for 'Spartan' is *Lacedaemonius*, found only at 3.5.56 in H., but common in prose), and Λάκων is a similar minor alternative for Λακεδαιμόνιος in Greek (both mean 'Spartan'). *petam* (future) might fit a grand heroic journey (cf. *Epod.* 16.41 2 *arua, beata | petamus arua*, Enn. *Trag.* 251 J (Argonauts) *petebant pellem inaurati arietis*), but *rura* characteristically tones this down by suggesting a comfortable rustic idyll, suitable for retirement not action; cf. similarly 1.1.17, 1.31.7, 2.16.37, 3.18.2. The Heraclid Phalanthus was the supposed Spartan founder of Tarentum in 708 BCE (cf. Strabo 6.2.2 3, Justin 3.4.8 14). The word break after the sixth syllable rather than the

fifth of the Sapphic hendecasyllable is rare (this is the only example in Book 2); cf. N H 1.xliv.

13 20 This warm encomium of Tarentum includes some topics traditional in the praise of places, such as agricultural products and natural climate (both already present in 10 12). In 17 20 the implied sequence of seasons (spring, winter, autumn vintage) is non linear and conveniently omits the roasting southern summer.

13 14 terrarum ... **angulus:** the phrase is otherwise found in historians and provides a small topographical focus contrasting with the broad geography of the first stanza cf. Livy 38.59.7, Vell. 2.102.3, 2.126.3; on H.'s interest in the *angulus* (quiet corner) and its links with the Epicurean Garden see Ferri 1993: 87 8, 189 (note how *ille* and its noun *angulus* are placed next to each other not horizontally but vertically at line start, a common Horatian technique; cf. 2.8.1 2 n.). The reference is surely to Tarentum in general (a 'corner' enclosed by hills and the sea) rather than an estate of Septimius (Quinn).

14 ridet: this personifying, metaphorical and quasi synaesthetic use (the sense of sight implicitly displacing that of hearing), using 'laugh' of things having 'a bright and cheerful or welcoming aspect' (*OLD* s.v. 2; cf. 4.11.6 *ridet argento domus*) has a Greek origin but is especially Lucretian (Catrein 2003: 91 3) and thus fits the Epicurean colour of the poem (see introduction). The second syllable of the verb is lengthened at the usual word break in the sapphic hendecasyllable, a prosodic licence used elsewhere (N H on 2.13.16).

14 16 Hymetto | mella ... **| uiridique** ... **| baca Venafro:** the two geographical names are set against each other in the careful word order at opposite ends of the clause, Greek balancing Italian (fitting the Hellenising Tarentum, see introduction). Products are poetically said to compete directly with places (for this usage cf. Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: II.826), using nouns not the expected topographical adjectives, and the adjective 'green' is transferred from the olive to its origin. *mella* is poetic plural as often (2.19.12, *TLL* VIII.605.48 73), a usage found ten times in Virgil's *Georgics*, a work generally recalled here (see introduction), while *baca* is neatly contrasted with it as poetic collective singular (cf. similarly of olives Virg. *G.* 2.519 *Sicyonia baca*). Mt Hymettus in Athens was famed for its honey, Venafrum (in modern Molise) for its olives, both also well known Tarentine products; Tarentum and Venafrum are paired as southern Italian pleasure resorts at 3.5.55 6.

15 decedunt ... **certat:** these personifications with proper names evoke Roman aristocrats jockeying for political or social position (for *certare*,

'compete with', taking a poetic dative, cf. *TLL* III.894.50 895.7; for *dece dere*, 'yield to (superior)', cf. *TLL* V.1.120.60 70), and recall similar lan guage about agriculture from Virgil's *Georgics*, especially the famous *laudes Italiae* of Book 2: cf. *G.* 2.137 8 *nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus | laudibus Italiae certent.*

17 longum: H.'s claim of long springs picks up (and perhaps corrects) Virgil's rhetorical claim of 'constant' spring for Italy in the *Georgics* (2.149 *hic uer adsiduum*).

18 Iuppiter: sky god and bringer of the weather (cf. 1.22.20), here perhaps to be rendered 'sky' to balance the metonymic use of *Bacchus*, 'wine' in the next line. Here the proper names *Iuppiter* and *Aulon* are paired at either end of the line, and are also the centre of an elegant chiasmus in the sentence (*praebet* | *Iuppiter*... *Aulon* |... |*inuidet*). **brumas:** something of an oxymoron with *tepidas* (for H.'s taste for oxymoron in the *Odes* see 2.5.25, 2.12.26, 2.16.5 6, 17 18, 2.19.18, 30 1, West 1973: 19, Bo 1960: 293), and contrasting etymologically with *longum* given its derivation from *breuis* (Varro *LL* 6.8 *dicta bruma quod breuissimus tunc dies est*).

18 19 amicus Aulon | fertili Baccho 'Aulon, friendly to fertile Bacchus', i. e. good for planting vines; sites for *Aulon* (cf. Greek αὐλών, 'valley') have been tentatively identified near Taranto (Malavolta 1996b). *amicus* has been doubted by some editors, but this adjective goes well with *Baccho* (cf. 1.26.1 *Musis amicus*, Statius *Silv.* 2.2.4 *Bromio dilectus ager*) as well as relating to the poem's key topic of friendship (so Segal 1969: 243). The variant *fertilis Baccho* (favoured by Bentley) goes back to Servius and is attractive as a phrase (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.191 *fertilis uuae*, Prop. 4.6.76 *Bacche, soles Phoebo fertilis esse tuo*), but would here leave *amicus* without a desirable comple ment and give *Aulon* an extra unwanted adjective. *Bacchus* here means 'wine' by the 'god for thing' metonymy (for this traditional poetic feature see Fordyce on Virg. *A.* 7.113).

19 20 minimum Falernis | inuidet uvis: continues the Roman personifica tion of line 15; Aulon 'does not in the least envy' the excellent grapes of the *ager Falernus* since it can match them for quality (so Porphyrio); for *inuidia* between unequal rivals in public life at Rome see Kaster 2005: 84 103, and for the oft cited excellence of Falernian grapes and wine see Tchernia 1986: 330 1. *minimum* inverts and balances *longum* in sense; the neuter adjective for adverb, going with *inuidet* ('envies not at all'), is more elevated in tone than the 'unpoetic' normal adverb *minime* (on which see Axelson 1945: 92); H. has three examples of *minimum*, two in the *Odes*, two of *minime*, both in the more colloquial *Satires*.

21 4 The last stanza reprises the theme of the first, Septimius' loyal comradeship (21 *mecum* recalls 1 *mecum*), thus giving ring compositional closure to the poem: for this effect in the *Odes* see Schrijvers 1973: 150 (= Lowrie 2009: 62), Tarrant 1995. Likewise, *ille* . . . *locus* (21) picks up and varies *ille* . . . *angulus* (13 14) and thus returns to the beginning of the poem's second half. *ille te* . . . *ibi tu* provide carefully balanced openings for two balanced clauses here, and the elaborate structure of the stanza is enhanced by the rhymes of *arces* . . . *sparges* and *calentem* . . . *fauillam* at the ends of matching line halves in successive lines.

21 te mecum: the juxtaposition stresses the closeness of poet and addressee.

21 2 beatae | . . . **arces:** the expression has been related to the topography of Taranto, a fortified city rising from a coastal plain backed by hills (Magno 2000), and certainly picks up Virgil's *sub Oebaliae* . . . *turribus arcis* (*G.* 4.125, from a key episode for our poem: see introduction), but *beatae* also suggests the symbolic 'citadel of wisdom' (La Penna 1997), picking up Lucretius' famous high sanctuary from which the wise man observes the struggles of the ignorant: *edita doctrina sapientum templa serena* (2.8). The potential for Epicurean philosophical quiet and contentment in H.'s proposed Tarentine retirement is a key point in its favour.

22 postulant: a metaphorical demand by an object, a mildly colloquial usage (*OLD* s.v. 8); the verb's quasi legal sense of requiring what is due (*OLD* s.v. 1), is echoed by the similar idea of *debita* (23).

22 3 H. like other poets substitutes the pathetic watering of tears for the sprinkling of hot ashes with cooling wine or water current in Roman funerary practice as a preliminary to gathering the remaining bones (on which see Toynbee 1971:40; for literary references see [Tib.] 3.2.9 22 and Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 3.560): for *spargere* in this context see [Tib.] 3.2.19 *spargent* . . . *Lyaeo.* The imagined grief of the beloved at the poet's own future funeral is a recurrent fantasy in the contemporary love elegy of Propertius and Tibullus (Griffin 1985: 148 9, Papanghelis 1987: 50 79; for *favilla* in such contexts see e.g. Prop. 1.19.19, 2.1.77), but H. replaces the weeping *puella* of the elegists with the moderately moved Epicurean male friend (see introduction).

23 debita . . . **lacrima:** *lacrima* is poetic singular as at 4.1.34; the collective usage goes back to Homer's δάκρυον, 'tear' (*Il.* 16.11, etc.). The idea that the dead are 'owed' mourning is a standard view in Roman culture (cf. e.g. Catull. 101.3, Ov. *Met.*2.340 1).

24 uatis amici: Porphyrio mentions a reading *uatis Horati*, but this is very likely a confusion with the metrically identical last line of 4.6 (44) *uatis*

Horati. uatis here means 'prophet' as well as 'poet' as often (on the range of the term see Newman 1967): in this poem H. has poetically imagined and in a sense prophesied his own end, while *amici* rounds off the poem as it began with a stress on friendship (cf. also 2.7.28 n.), in a kind of final epistolary signature.

7 SUMMARY

Pompeius, old friend and early drinking partner, who served with me under Brutus, who has brought you back to Italy? (1 8). With you I experienced defeat at Philippi, where I was saved by Mercury while you went on in the civil war (9 16). Let us make offerings to Jupiter and celebrate your return in a riotous symposium (17 28).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

The poem belongs in date to the period 30 23 BCE, when many of those who had fought against the future Augustus returned to Rome under forms of amnesty; that the victor did not apply proscriptions after Actium could be presented as unusually merciful (Vell. 2.86.2). Such *clementia* was proclaimed as one of the four 'imperial' virtues on the golden shield set up by the Senate in honour of the newly named Augustus in 27 BCE (*Res Gestae* 34.2, Wallace Hadrill 1981; for the whole topic of *clementia* at Rome see Dowling 2006 and Flamerie de la Chapelle 2011). The addressee Pompeius, otherwise unknown but presented as an old friend from H.'s Republican past and former comrade at the two battles of Philippi (42 BCE), shares a name with the leaders of the defeated Pompeian party; assuming he was a real person, he may have served with S. Pompeius in the 30s BCE (15 16 n.), and may indeed have been a minor relation of Pompey; that someone with such a prominently anti Caesarian name and matching original loyalties has been allowed to return to Rome is clearly a particular implicit compliment to Augustus' *clementia* (cf. esp. Smith 2015; for an opposite view see Dowling 2006: 82 3).

In terms of intertexts, this poem has several links with 1.36, greeting Numida on his return from Spain (cf. notes on 17 and 24 5), and there is an established tradition of poems saluting the return of friends from abroad, including Catullus 9, to Veranius on return from Spain (for possible links with this poem see 4 n., 5 n.); Cairns has termed this kind of poem a 'prosphonetikon', address to the returner see Cairns 1972: 21 31 for a full list of examples and common features. H.'s claims to have

abandoned his shield and to have been rescued by Mercury from the battle are not literal historical reports; both details deliberately recall the work of his fellow poet Archilochus (10 n., 13 n.), while the former may also recall a similar claim of his fellow poet Alcaeus (10 n.) and the latter evokes Iliadic heroes (13 16 n.). Archilochus is important as the chief Greek model for Horace's *Epodes*; in recalling his earlier inglorious military career H. naturally goes back to the poet he had most extensively appro priated in his earlier poetic appearance (see Harrison 2007b: 104 35). This poetic stylising, employing irony and wit, eases H.'s potential embar rassment about his youthful military opposition to the regime which now offers him patronage: by presenting himself as a mere unwarlike poet in a long tradition and as a parodic Homeric hero, he can offer entertaining praise to Augustus as his conqueror in war.

Structurally, the poem falls into three clear sections the first two stanzas (1 8) greet the long absent Pompeius on his return and recall their youthful revelry, the next two (9 16) describe their long ago defeat at Philippi, and the final three stanzas (17 28) detail the celebrations which the two will now enjoy together. This is evidently a form of ring composition (cf. Tarrant 1995: 37 40). This structure is clearly articulated by signpost words in initial position in each section: the resumptive *tecum* in 9 returns to the addressee and further biographical detail, and *ergo* in 17 marks the reason to celebrate.

The key theme of friendship is shared with 2.6, a clear reason for their juxtaposition (see Ludwig 1957: 338 9); the word *amicus* is found in the final line of both poems, binding them together, and 2.7.28 *amico* also returns by internal ring composition to the initial statement of friendship at 2.7.5 *meorum prime sodalium*. The scenario of a symposium to celebrate a friend's return is common in the *Odes*, a poetic version of the dinner normal on such occasions. But there is a higher 'friend' in the background: like several poems in this book (see Introduction), 2.7 emphasises Augustus' forgiveness of and reconciliation with former opponents now that Actium is some years in the past.

This implicit stress on the *clementia* of the *princeps* is a key part of a strategy by which H. deals with the potentially difficult and embarrassing topic of his early Republicanism and his military opposition to the young Caesar (now master of Rome) in the Philippi campaign nearly two decades previously. The poem looks back with the irony of middle age to H.'s spectacularly unsuccessful military career as a hot headed youthful aberration, using much the same strategy as at 3.14.27 8 and *Ep.* 2.2.47 8, and treats his actions at Philippi with a distanced literary stylisation (10 n., 13 16 n., Harrison 2016). This carefully avoids the tumultuous politics of 43 42

and the massive casualties of the two battles at Philippi, in which up to 20,000 may have perished on each side (Brunt 1971: 487 8). The poem presents Philippi in H.'s mature hindsight as the vain attempt of arrogant, ineffectual opponents to upset the proper status of things, hardly the way he must have seen it at the time.

Select bibliography

Connor 1987: 57 61; Moles 1987; Davis 1991: 89 98; De Martino 1992; Tarrant 1995: 37 40; Lowrie 1997: 194 9; Freund 1999; Citroni 2000; O'Gorman 2002; Schmidt 2002: 271 80; Nagy 2003; Schwindt 2013; Smith 2015; Harrison 2016.

1 O: an elevated opening address often used by H. (first word in eight of the103 odes); for the extended and poetic hyperbaton *O* . . . *Pompei* cf. Dickey 2000: 228.

1 2 saepe mecum . . . **deducte:** *mecum* picks up the theme of comradely travel from 2.6.1; thus both the opening and the closure of this poem recall its immediate predecessor (28 n.). *Saepe* alludes to the repeated battles fought by Brutus in 43 42 (for these see Pelling 1996: 5 8; H. certainly served with Brutus in Asia in 43 as well as at Philippi cf. *S.* 1.7), with frequency perhaps implying ineffectuality. **tempus in ultimum** '(led) to the moment of crisis' (of confrontation in battle). *ultimum* recalls Greek ἔσχατος ,'last', in this sense (LSJ s.v. 2). **Bruto militiae duce:** the ablative absolute formula is typical of the condensed, lapidary style of Roman military narrative (cf. 2.4.10 *Thessalo victore,* Livy 41.28.9 *re publica felicissime gesta,* Fraenkel 2007: 162 4). *militiae* picks up the same word at 2.6.8, one of several links between this pair of poems (see introduction).

3 quis: a crucial rhetorical question, pointing to the surprising mercy of the young Caesar's post Actium amnesties (see introduction above), and contrasting his rule with that of Brutus, who had led H. and Pompeius only into trouble. This implicit praise of a ruler's *clementia* in allowing the return of former enemies after civil war recalls (e.g.) Cicero's more open laudation of Julius Caesar for permitting Marcellus' homecoming in *Pro Marcello* 10 12. **redonauit Quiritem** 'has restored you (to Italy) as a Roman citizen': Pompeius, perhaps outlawed under the proscriptions of 43 (so Henderson 1998: 25), would have reacquired full citizen status in an amnesty (*Quiritem* implies a civilian (*OLD* s.v. 1a, c), contrasting with 2 *militiae*). The rare verb (found only here before Apuleius) perhaps recalls Greek ἀποδίδωμι in its sense of 'return what is due' (LSJ s.v. 1): Pompeius is

and was a Roman citizen, and normality has now been resumed in Italy after the 'diversion' of the civil wars.

4 **dis patriis:** suggests Pompeius' restoration to the national gods of Italy (see Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 2.702) as well as to the ancestral *di penates* of a family home, who are naturally featured in a homecoming poem (cf. 1.36.3, Catull. 9.3, Cairns 1972: 22). The chiastic word order keeps the related *patriis* and *Italo* together here. **Italoque caelo:** *caelum* means 'climate' (*OLD* s.v. 7), implicitly contrasting the famously temperate Italy (cf. e.g. Virg. *G.* 2.149 50) with Pompeius' years of exile in foreign, more extreme climes.

5 **Pompei:** the vocative noun following the initial *O* is unusually post poned (1 n.) until the first line of the second stanza (cf. 4.10.1 5) and placed in matching initial position. *Pompei* is scanned as a disyllable by synizesis, a common flexibility with *ei* vocatives or genitives of names in H. (cf. 2.19.14 *Penthei* and Bo 1960: 81 2). **meorum prime sodalium:** cf. Catull. 9.1 2 *Verani, omnibus e meis amicis | antistans mihi milibus trecentis. prime* seems to mean 'earliest' rather than 'dearest' (Pompeius is the only detectable pre Philippi friend of H. addressed in the *Odes*, and they have not met for some years), while *sodalis* is warmer than *amicus* and often describes symposiastic companions (cf. 1.27.7, 1.37.4).

6 **cum quo** ... **saepe :** balances *saepe mecum* (1), expressing close fellow ship on and off duty (cf. similarly *tecum*, 9).

6 7 **morantem** ... **diem mero | fregi:** the image of *fregi* (only here with *dies*) seems to be that of exhausting or wearing out (*OLD* s.v. *frango* 8) the slow waning day by means of a sunset symposium (cf. 1.1.20, Alcaeus 346.1 V., Call. *Ep.* 2 Pf.). This kind of 'breaking' clearly ironically contrasts with the 'breaking' of the young pair on the battlefield in 12 *fracta uirtus*, implying that they were better at drinking than fighting and that their chosen weapon was heady unmixed wine (*mero*) rather than anything more militarily effective.

7 **coronatus:** the usual symposiastic garlands, here perhaps (given *fregi*) contrasted with the various *coronae* awarded for Roman military achieve ments (cf. Maxfield 1981: 67 81).

7 8 **nitentis** ... **capillos:** shining with symposiastic hair oil (cf. 1.4.9 *niti dum caput*) and with the gloss of youthful fullness (3.19.25 *spissa te nitidum coma*). **malobathro Syrio:** 'Syrian' like 'Assyrian' (2.11.6) is a conven tional Eastern origin for spices, here an oil from a tree (Pliny *NH* 12.129); *malobathrum* is a Greek loan word here (cf. *TLL* VIII.205.70), perhaps reflecting the Greek/eastern location of the symposia here remembered from the campaigns with Brutus (see introduction).

9 tecum: begins the poem's second section 9 16 (see introduction) with the established theme of common action. **Philippos et celerem fugam** 'swift flight at Philippi' (hendiadys), the defeated Republican view of the battle (or rather the two battles of October and November 42), here allusively named only by its place cf. 3.4.26 *Philippis versa acies retro.*

10 sensi: a sense experience as lively as the symposium but much less pleasurable. **relicta non bene parmula:** a traditional token of shameful flight from battle (note the euphemistically humorous *non bene*), which seems to have been applied by earlier poets to parallel military misadven tures. Archilochus seems to have claimed to have left his shield in fighting the Thracians (fr.5 W.; his κάλλιπον, 'I left behind' (5.2), perhaps underlies *relicta*) and the same detail appears to occur in Alcaeus (428(a) V.) and Anacreon (*PMG* 381(a)) in the context of other battles; Smith 2015 pro vides a suitably cautious discussion of these three Greek examples (the details of which are in no case fully secure; cf. De Martino 1992), while also making the excellent points that all three Greek shield jettisonings take place like H.'s in the region of Thrace (258). Though a small round *parmula* was probably the right kind of shield for the tribune H. to carry (Malavolta 1996a: 248), this is not primarily a realistic record of his experiences at Philippi but a symbolic and ironic presentation of weakness and defeat; as Smith 2015: 264 6 points out, H. (unmilitary in contrast with his Greek predecessors, a stance that suits the poet of the *Odes*: cf. 1.16.17 20) pre sents himself as unable to salvage even a small, light shield from the battle.

11 fracta uirtus: *uirtus* looks both to the collective 'men' (*uiri*) of Brutus' army (for this use cf. Virg. *A.* 10.410 *socium uirtus*) and to their comman der's famous philosophical 'virtue' (Plut. *Brut.* 1.4, 2.2), while *fracta* ironi cally echoes *fregi* (6 7 n.; this time the action is on the battlefield not in the symposium, and the young pair are unequal to it). The expression inverts the usual idea that virtue remains firm while other things break (cf. e.g. 3.3.7 8 on the man of virtue, *si fractus illabatur orbis, | impauidum ferient ruinae*).

11 12 minaces | turpe solum tetigere mento: this highly stylised descrip tion of a spectacularly bloody defeat, recalling the Homeric 'biting the ground' of dying heroes (e.g. *Il.* 2.418), avoids too much concentration on potentially disturbing realistic details. *turpe* (adjective rather than adver bial) means 'shameful', stressing the humiliation of Brutus' ambitious army, picking up *non bene* and contrasting with *uirtus.* The involuntary collision of chin and ground here might be an ironic reversal of the famous act of Brutus the tyrannicidal first consul, M. Brutus' ancestor and putative role model (Plut. *Brut.* 9.6), in kissing the earth to gain supreme power at Rome (Livy 1.57.12).

13 16 This fourth stanza seems to assign an Iliadic role to H. and an Odyssean one to Pompeius (see below), the two being symmetrically articulated by the emphatically initial object pronouns *me* (13 14) and *te* (15 16); the pair of lines 1 9 (cf. 1 *mecum*, 9 *tecum*) are now sundered. This Homeric colour continues the stylised approach to the delicate topic of civil war against the current *princeps*. H. is rescued from the fray by a god, like Paris or Aeneas in the *Iliad* (3.380 2, 5.344 6, 20.321 9), but by Mercury/Hermes rather than the Homeric Aphrodite, Apollo, or Poseidon; H. like Aeneas survives for Rome's ultimate benefit. The choice of god may reflect a possible incident in Archilochus where the poet may have been rescued by Hermes (fr. 95 W.), as well as the role of Mercury, god of the lyre (1.10.1 6) as H.'s divine protector in the *Odes* (2.17.29; cf. P. A. Miller 1991 and J. F. Miller 2009: 44 53); Apollo, associated with the young Caesar on the other side, would be unsuitable here despite his poetic associations (cf. 1.31). Pompeius, for his part, is sucked back into the sea of war like Odysseus (15 16 n.). Note how the stanza follows *solum* 'earth' (12) with two further physical elements: 14 *aere* (mist/air) and 16 *unda* (wave/water).

13 Mercurius celer: echoes the swift flight of *celerem fugam* (9) as well as Mercury's traditional winged speed.

14 denso ... **aere:** recalls the 'thick mist' (ἠέρι πολλῇ) in relevant Homeric divine rescues (*Il.* 3.382, 20.444; see introduction above). **pauentem:** ironically contrasts with the pre battle threats of his side (11 *minaces*). **sustulit:** recalls ἀείρας ('lifting') of Poseidon's removal of Aeneas (*Il.* 20.325).

15 16 te rursus in bellum resorbens | unda fretis tulit aestuosis 'you the wave sucked back again into the war and carried over the seething straits'. Pompeius is returned to the metaphorical sea storm of war (*OLD* s.v. *tempestas* 4). There seems to be an echo here of the scene where the Homeric Odysseus is literally carried by the stormy sea during his ship wreck at the end of *Odyssey* 5 (388 431; *unda* .. *tulit* picks up 5.425 μέγα κῦμα φέρεν,'a great wave carried him'), and perhaps of the sucking action of the destructive Charybdis (*Od.* 12.236 ἀνερροίβδησε, 'sucked down' cf. Virg. *A.* 3.420 2 *Charybdis* | ... | *sorbet*); this would be a neat Odyssean balance to Horace's Iliadic escape. The link of renewed war and the sea here suggests that after Philippi Pompeius may have joined the naval campaigns of his namesake Sextus Pompey: *fretis* ... *aestuosis* (ablative of 'extension': 2.5.19 n.) could point to the naval battle of Naulochus (36 BCE), where Sextus was defeated near the stormy Straits of Messina, while the storm imagery in connection with civil war in general recalls the tempest tossed ship of state in 1.14 (indeed, *resorbens* in this context may

echo 1.14.1 *referent*, a point I owe to Andrea Cucchiarelli). As Smith 2015: 269 points out, H.'s expression suggests that Pompeius was swept away by forces beyond his control, some excuse for his likely years of opposition to Augustus.

17 28 The poem's final section instructs Pompeius to join H. in sympo siastic celebration, presumably at his country house (19 *sub lauru mea*). This symposium is a reprise of their youthful carousings on campaign abroad, but the Italian location and wine stress that Pompeius has returned home and that the former turbulence and dislocation of civil war is now at an end.

17 ergo: 'so', a relatively prosaic word found only twice in the *Odes* (here and 1.24.5), suiting a colloquial address to an old friend. **obligatam redde Ioui dapem** 'render the due feast offering to Jupiter' for the conventional sacrificial meal on homecoming see 1.36.1 3 and Cairns 1972: 23; *obligo*, usually used of the person obliged, is here transferred to the duty owed. Jupiter is appropriate here in his form of *Iuppiter redux*, 'the bringer back' (*OLD* s.v. *redux* 1, *ILS* 2219 v), hinting at the other supreme ruler who deserves thanks for Pompeius' return; for Augustus as an earthly Jupiter see e.g. 3.5.1 3, *Ep.*1.19.43. *dapem* is a rare and elevated singular; for this archaic religious word for a sacrificial meal see F C on 4.4.12.

18 longaque fessum militia latus: *militia* picks up 2 *militiae* (*longa* stresses that the series of civil war campaigns which began with Philippi is now over), while the line as a whole recalls 2.6.7 8 *sit modus lasso maris et uiarum* | *militiaeque* (both Pompeius and Septimius are experienced soldiers). *latus*, 'side', humorously alludes to the traditional discomforts of military encamp ment; cf. 3.10.20, Ov. *Am.* 1.9.7 8, Aesch. *Ag.* 555 62.

19 depone sub lauru mea: *depone* appropriately suggests putting down a long carried burden. *lauru*: H. seems to use the fourth declension form for the tree (also first declension *laurea*, 2.15.9), second declension for its foliage (*lauro* 3.4.19, 3.30.16). The bay tree is appropriate for a poet's residence (for the poet's bays cf. 3.30.16, 4.2.9), and is presumably located in a courtyard (cf. Austin on Virg. *A.* 2.513) or on a terrace at H.'s country villa (for bays in gardens cf. 2.15.9 n.), whether Sabine or Tiburtine (2.6.5 8 n.). Horace's villa, like Pompeius' return, can be seen as a result of Augustus' generosity (via Maecenas).

19 20 nec | parce: only here does H. end this third line of the Alcaic stanza with a monosyllable. The break stresses the preceding *mea* and thus the warm personal welcome extended by H. to his long lost friend, further underlined by unstinting provision of wine (cf. 1.9.6, 3.18.6 7).

20 cadis tibi destinatis: wine jars 'destined' for Pompeius in the sense of providing a fine vintage for a valued visitor. The phrase neatly balances 17 *obligatam* ... *Ioui*: the symposium incorporates fitting offerings for both god and man.

21 8 The lively atmosphere of the improvised symposium is conveyed by the poet's short sentences, commands and rhetorical questions.

21 obliuioso ... **Massico:** a prime Italian wine (1.1.19, 3.21.5, Tchernia 1986: 332 3) to mark the homecoming and the restoration of normal ity, and to contrast with the foreign symposium of 6 8. *obliuioso* suggests the amnesty (*obliuio, OLD* s.v. 3) under which Pompeius has returned (see further Smith 2015: 271 3), and forgetting past political troubles; here it means 'making to forget' rather than 'forgetful', a poetic licence (cf. *insanus* = 'maddening' rather than 'mad', Ov. *Fast.* 3.364). **leuia** 'smooth, polished', implying modestly unembossed silver cf. Virg. *A.* 5.91 *leuia pocula,* Juv. 14.62 *leue argentum* with Courtney's note.

22 ciboria: a Greek name (κιβώριον) for Egyptian tall tapering cups, normally metal, found only here in this sense in classical Latin (the origin of the Christian *ciborium*). The rare Greek term (see Ath. 11.477e, LSJ s.v.) picks up the similar *malobathro*: the homecoming party in Italy has traces of the pair's foreign past. **exple, funde:** these paired imperatives are elegantly juxtaposed at end and beginning of clause, describing the typical sympotic actions of filling and pouring (cf. Alcaeus 346.2, 50.1 V.). **capacibus** 'of generous size' (cf. 19 20, *Epod.* 9.33 *capaciores* ... *scyphos*).

23 unguenta: echoes *malobathro* (8) as unguents for the symposium (cf. 2.3.13 n.), but no specific exotic origins are given this time. **conchis:** the Greek word (κόγχη, 'shell') matches *ciboria,* but is early naturalised in Latin for a shell shaped vessel (*OLD* s.v. *concha* 3a). **quis:** quasi imperative question to an anonymous slave preparing for the symposium (cf. 2.11.18 *quis puer* ... ? with n.).

24 deproperare 'make haste to finish', a Plautine verb (*Cas.* 745, *Poen.* 321) and thus suitable for colloquial instructions to lowly slaves. **coronas:** recalls 7 *coronatus,* reviving the pair's youthful celebration and making a peaceful contrast with military decorations, suggesting the replacement of civil war with the *pax Augusta.*

24 5 apio ... **myrto:** celery (1.36.15) and myrtle (1.38.5) are simple, local garden picked materials for sympotic garlands (hence the celery is still damp, *udo*); for the mature Horatian preference for simple garlands cf. 1.38.2 6 (those of line 7 may have been more elaborate).

25 quem: balancing *quis*, though the interrogative now indicates guests rather than slaves (it is not clear how many guests there will be apart from H. and Pompeius). **Venus:** the name of the highest throw at Roman dice, in which each of the four dice showed a different number (*OLD* s.v. 2b). The privilege of dictating the rate of drinking at a symposium (*arbitrum . . . bibendi*) would be played for with dice (cf. 1.4.18).

26 non . . . sanius: litotes (= *insanius*); cf. *S.* 1.10.34 *non . . . insanius.* Bo 1960: 141 has a collection of Horatian litotes to which this passage should be added.

27 bacchabor Edonis: for *bacchor*, 'rave like a Bacchant', cf. *OLD* s.v. 3; the women of the Thracian Edoni were often presented as Bacchic devotees (*OLD* s.v. *Edoni*). The mention of Thrace clearly recalls the Thracian location of Philippi: this time the Thracian raging will be exercised meta phorically in the safe space of the peacetime symposium rather than for real on the wartime battlefield (28 n.).

27 8 recepto . . . amico: *recipere* (like 3 *redonauit*) stresses the restoration of a previous state of friendship (*OLD* s.v. 13, 14). The poem ends by ring composition with its opening and main theme of a friend's return (see introduction above).

28 dulce mihi furere est: for the controlled 'insanity' of the Horatian symposium see 3.19.18, 4.12.28 and N H here. The passing of the years and the advent of political stability ensure that the *furor* of civil war has been similarly domesticated.

8 SUMMARY

Barine, if you had ever suffered any disfigurement as punishment for your previous perjuries, I would believe you, but despite your deceptions you remain as stunningly beautiful as ever (1 8). It seems to bring you only benefit to swear falsely by the strongest oaths, and the gods look on and laugh (9 16). The emerging generation of young men continues to provide you with new victims to add to your list, and you are dreaded by their families (17 24).

Metre

Sapphic (cf. Introduction, section 7).

The poem has no identifiable date. The addressee, Barine, is clearly char acterised as a *femme fatale* and consumer of young men, and is presumably a *hetaira* (cf. 21 4). Her Greek name seems to refer to a kind of carp (LSJ s.v. βαρῖνος, Thompson 1947: 24); several fish names were used by Greek *hetairai* as names or sobriquets (K. Schneider, *RE* 8.1359 70), suggesting perhaps

sexual 'delicacies' analogous to fish for eating (cf. Davidson 1997), and it may be relevant that carp were considered highly sexed (Arist. *HA* 6.568b, Thompson 1947: 135 6) and are in general voracious and omnivorous, paralleling Barine's apparent insatiability. The scenario seems to be close to that of 1.5: the poet appears to have been involved erotically with the addressee, but now addresses her with ironic distance to expose her wiles for others.

Recent scholarship (Spelman 2014) has drawn attention to intertextual links with Alcman 3.61 74 *PMG*:

λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι, τακερώτερα
δ᾽ ὕπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρκεται·
οὐδέ τι μαψιδίως γλυκ[ῆα κ]ῆνα.

Ϝα[σ]τυμέλοισα δέ μ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται
ἀ[λλὰ τὸ]ν πυλεῶν᾽ ἔχοισα
ὥ τι[ς] αἰγλάεντος ἀστήρ
ὠρανῶ διαιπετής
ἢ χρύσιον ἔρνος ἢ ἁπαλο[. . . . .]ον
. . .
] διέβα ταναοῖς πο[σί
κ]ομος νοτία Κινύρα χά[ρ]ις
ἐπὶ π]αρσενικᾶν χαίταισιν ἵσδει.

Ϝα]στυμέλοισα κατὰ στρατὸν
. . .]μέλημα δάμωι

. . . and with limb loosening longing, and she
gazes more meltingly than sleep or death: hardly
without effect is she attractive. Astymeloisa
does not answer me, but with a sacred garland
in her hand, like some star flying through the
glittering sky or a golden sapling or a soft . . .
she traversed with shapely feet . . . the moist
charm of Kinyras sits upon the maidens' hair
. . . Astymeloisa amongst the throng . . . the
people's darling . . . [tr. Spelman]

As Spelman 2014 points out with further detail, Alcman's Astymeloisa parallels H.'s Barine as a beautiful woman who displays herself to general attention; Barine is *iuuenum* . . . | *publica cura* (7 8), Astymeloisa is μέλημα δάμωι (74), a close verbal correspondence; both also attract attention by their perfumes (cf. 71 2, where the reference is to aromatic hair oil). H.'s Barine is an ironic subversion of her model: Astymeloisa seems to be a conventional and virtuous maiden, Barine a home and heart breaker.

The poem may also pick up elements from Call. *Ep.* 25 Pf. :

Ὤμοσε Καλλίγνωτος Ἰωνίδι μήποτ᾽ ἐκείνης
  ἕξειν μήτε φίλον κρέσσονα μήτε φίλην.
ὤμοσεν· ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι
  ὅρκους μὴ δύνειν οὔατ᾽ ἐς ἀθανάτων.
νῦν δ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἀρσενικῷ θέρεται πυρί, τῆς δὲ ταλαίνης (5)
  νύμφης ὡς Μεγαρέων οὐ λόγος οὐδ᾽ ἀριθμός.

Callignotus swore to Ionis that he would never hold a lover male or female more important than her. He swore: but they say truly that oaths made in love never reach the ears of the immortals. Now he is warmed by a male fire, and of his wretched bride there is (as of the Megarians) 'no account or reckoning'.

The situation of erotic perjury with impunity, a subsequently continu ing erotic career, the failure of the gods to exact punishment and the mention of a 'wretched bride' (cf. 22 3) all seem to suggest that H. had this famous poem in mind here (it had already been imitated by Catullus 70). As often, a Horatian ode is in effect an expansion of an epigrammatic scenario; cf. introduction to 2.5 and Harrison 2007b: 177 88.

Another poetic genre appropriated in this ode (though without especially close echoes of particular poems) is Roman love elegy. Barine strongly resembles the alluring but unreliable *puellae* of Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid, and the last two stanzas of H.'s poem deploy two of the key topics of elegiac erotic discourse: the *militia amoris* (love as war) in the military image of *pubes* (17) and *seruitium amoris* (love as slavery) in *seruitus* (18) and *domina* (19). H. as usual presents a perspective opposed to that of elegy, replacing the elegists' obsession with the peerless but unreliable beloved with an ironic and distanced exposition of Barine's moral faults and dangerous qualities.

Structurally, the poem falls into three equal sections the opening address to Barine (1 8), the description of her unpunished perjury and the gods' amused reactions (9 16), and the fears of respectable families that she will seduce their young men (17 24). The core theme of the impunity of lovers for broken oaths is a highly traditional one, common in Hellenistic and recent Roman poetry (see Callimachus above), and used earlier by Horace at *Epod.*15.3 4 (see Watson's note). The poem's two central stanzas (9 16) focus on this central topic; the three sacred objects by which Barine swears in the third stanza move upwards in a tricolon, from parental ashes interred in the earth to the stars in the sky and the gods in their traditional abode at the top of heaven. This sequence is neatly balanced by that of three observing divine individuals or groups in the fourth stanza, and listing the gods as the third object of the first sequence (11 *diuos*) leads naturally into the second list of divinities, also a tricolon, describing

Venus and her divine associates. The focus of the poem's final two stanzas (17 24) now moves to consider the fuller social impact of Barine's sexual allure, already briefly noted at 7 8. The penultimate stanza (17 20) considers the eager perspective of her male pursuers, set in a tricolon of three groups (general, new and old). While in symmetrical counterbalance the last stanza presents the anxious fears of their families, and shows a neat division of anxieties between three categories of concerned relatives (mothers, fathers, wives), in something of a parody of a hymn (21 2 n.).

Select bibliography

Connor 1987: 178 80; Ancona 1994: 76 85; Sutherland 2002: 108 17, 128 31; Nadeau 2008: 206 14; Spelman 2014.

1 Vlla: emphatic initial placement, 'any at all'; its noun *poena* is similarly placed at the start of the next line, a common kind of vertical collocation in the *Odes* (cf. 2.11.6 8 n.; it occurs more frequently at line end: cf. 2.4.13 14 n.). **iuris** . . . **peierati** '(punishment for an) oath forsworn', a *figura etymologica* (the verb and object are etymologically related: *peierare* = *per iurare*), as already known in antiquity (Isid. *Orig.* 10.222).

2 poena: picks up ἀποίνιμον, 'unpunished', in the earliest formulation of the idea of the impunity of lovers' broken oaths at Hesiod fr. 124 M/W ἐκ τοῦ δ' ὅρκον ἔθηκεν ἀποίνιμον ἀνθρώποισι | νοσφιδίων ἔργων πέρι Κύπριδος, 'and since then he (Zeus) made unpunished amongst men an oath sworn about the secret deeds of Cypris'.

3 4 dente si nigro fieres uel uno | turpior ungui 'if you became black toothed or (even) uglier by a single (disfigured) fingernail'. *uno* goes only with *ungui*, and *dens* is used collectively here as often (cf. *Epod.* 8.3 *cum tibi sit dens ater* with Watson's note, *TLL* v.1.537.51), while *dente* is ablative of quality with *fieres*, an archaic construction; cf. Plaut. *Most.* 811 *uoltu uti tristi est senex, Poen.* 1112 *statura haud magna . . . est.* For black teeth as disfiguring for women see Gibson on Ov. *Ars* 3.279 80; the worse alternative is put first, with *uel* implying 'or even minimally'. *unguis* expresses a minimum quantity or distance (*OLD* s.v. 2c), emphasised by the use of *unus*, though the desirability of elegant fingernails for female sexual allure (cf. Gibson on Ov. *Ars* 3.275 6) must also be relevant in this context. Shackleton Bailey 1985 reads Usener's *albo* (white on the finger nails is evidence of lying) but this like Horkel's *unco* ('curved' why?) is unnecessary.

5 crederem 'I would believe you (when you swear)'; an emphatic placement of a sentence ending verb by single word enjambment into the next stanza (cf. 1.2.49, 2.10.17).

5 6 simul obligasti | perfidum uotis caput 'as soon as you have bound your faithless head by vows'. Swearing by the head is common and goes back to Homer (see Pease on Virg. *A.* 4.357).

6 7 enitescis . . . prodis: the two verbs, paired in placement at line end, nicely convey the splendour of Barine's self displaying public promenade; *enitesco* (like *eniteo,* Virg. *A.* 4.150) suggests a bright complexion (cf. *nites* of Pyrrha at 1.5.13), with some implication here perhaps of cosmetic aid (cf. Ov. *Medic.* 51 2 *disce age . . . |candida quo possint ora nitere modo*), while for *prodire* of alluring female emergence from the house cf. Tib. 1.9.70 *Tyrio prodeat apta sinu.*

7 8 iuuenumque . . . publica cura 'a public menace | to young men' (West). *cura* is used in the personal sense, common in elegy, of 'object of erotic concern' (*OLD* s.v. 8); the epithet *publica* wittily extends this to a source of national anxiety (cf. Cic. *Att.* 10.8.9 *publicam cladem*) and also suggests Barine's universal sexual availability (cf. Prop. 4.7.39, *TLL* x.2.465.60), while *iuuenis* implies a sexually active young man (cf. 1.4.19, 1.25.2, 3.15.9, 4.1.8, 4.11.12, 4.13.26).

9 expedit 'it is beneficial', contrasting with *nocuisset* (2); for the emphatic initial position of the verb cf. 2.2.5 n. **matris cineres:** for parental ashes as a sacred oath object cf. Prop. 2.20.15 *ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa parentis* with Fedeli's note. **opertos** 'covered', i.e. in the shelter of a burial place (*OLD* s.v. *operio,* 2c). In the Augustan period at Rome bodies were generally cremated and the ashes then placed in tombs of various kinds ([Tib.] 3.2.9 22, Nock 1972: I.277 80).

10 fallere 'deceive', i.e. 'swear falsely by' (*TLL* vi.1.182.35).

10 11 toto . . . | . . . cum caelo 'with the whole of heaven', i.e. all the astronomical bodies: for heaven and stars as witnesses to oaths etc. cf. Cic. *Flac.* 102 *caelum noctemque contestans,* Pease on Virg. *A.* 4.519. *toto* stresses the message of 9 12, that Barine is prepared to swear falsely by all available means. **taciturna noctis | signa:** the silent stars (for *noctis signa* = *sidera* cf. Lucr. 5.1190 *noctis signa seuera*) are wittily appropriate witnesses (see above) for false oaths since they cannot disclose Barine's deceptions. H. may be recalling Catullus' presentation of the stars as silent witnesses of erotic intrigue (7.7 8 *aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox, | furtiuos hominum uident amores*).

11 12 gelidaque diuos | morte carentis: poetic expansion of *di immortales*; for the chill of death cf. Hesiod *W&D* 153 κρυεροῦ Ἀίδαο 'chill Hades', Lucr. 3.530 *gelidi . . . leti,* Pease on Virg. *A.* 4.385. *morte carens* ('free from death', first here) is taken up by Ovid (*Am.* 1.15.32, *Met.* 15.158, *Tr.* 3.3.61) and Lucan (9.616); for *carere* of avoiding evils cf. 2.14.13 n.

13 ridet . . . **rident:** an elegant variation of number (cf. e.g. Theoc. 2.38 σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ’ ἀῆται, ‘the sea is silent, silent too are the breezes’) with the two verbs paired at either end of the line (for this poetic technique in general cf. Wills 1996: 429 30). For Venus’ cynical amusement at the erotic complexities of mortals (here echoed by her divine suite) cf. 3.27.67 *perfidum ridens Venus*. **inquam:** only here in the *Odes*, an emphatically colloquial touch (8 times in *Satires*).

14 simplices Nymphae: for nymphs as Venus’ followers cf. 1.4.6, 1.30.6; the adjective contrasts their lack of guile (*OLD* s.v. 8a) with the traditional deceptiveness of their mistress (1.6.7, 3.27.67). **ferus** translates Greek ἄγριος ‘fierce’; for Cupid’s ferocity (here illustrated in his weaponry) cf. Virg. *E.* 8.47 *saevus Amor*, Bion fr. 9.1 with Reed’s note.

15 semper . . . **acuens:** the adverb suggests a permanently characterising activity of a god as at 1.32.10 and 1.35.17. Cupid is amusingly represented as sharpening his own arrows, perhaps recalling the divine labour of the Cyclopes supervised by his stepfather Vulcan (cf. 1.4.7 8, Virg. *A.* 8.424 55). **ardentis** . . . **sagittas:** Cupid’s arrows traditionally burn, and bring love, itself conceived as fiery in antiquity (cf. Pease on Virg. *A.* 4.2).

16 cote cruenta ‘bloody whetstone’, picking up Aesch. *Eum.* 859 αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας, ‘bloody whetstones’; in both cases the blood is metaphorical, not a literal lubricant, and *cruentus* here as often means ‘bloodthirsty, cruel’ (*TLL* IV.1240.37), picking up *ferus*.

17 adde quod ‘add the fact that’; like *inquam* (13), this prosaic expression (only here in the *Odes*, otherwise in *sermo* at *S.* 1.2.83, 2.7.78,111 and *Ep.* 1.18.52) shows the conversational tone here. The added factor is that Barine’s attractions are even more effective despite past untrustworthiness. **pubes tibi crescit omnis** ‘a whole host of young men is growing up for you’; *tibi* here is ambiguous between dative of advantage (‘for your benefit’) and possession (‘as your property’). *pubes* suggests a military unit (cf. *TLL* X.2.2433.67) and has an archaic/poetic colour (Fordyce on Catull. 64.267), *crescit* a crop (for the conjunction see 4.4.46 *Romana pubes creuit*); the combined image recalls that of the mythological sown men of Thebes or Colchis (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 3.104 30, 7.121 43), who spring up like plants from the ground only to be instantly laid waste (like Barine’s new lovers) by a devastating force. This implied military element recalls the traditional elegiac image of *militia amoris* (love as war), for which see conveniently Drinkwater 2013.

18 seruitus . . . **noua** ‘a new slave gang’ the abstract noun is used collectively (*OLD* s.v. 1c; cf. *uirtus* at 2.7.11) as the more prosaic *seruitium* often is (*OLD* s.v. 3). For the traditional theme of love as male slavery to the

puella (*seruitium amoris*), common in H.'s elegiac contemporaries, see e.g. Fulkerson 2013. **crescit:** the repetition has been questioned here (Lehrs suggested *ut sit*), but seems unproblematic. The second *crescit* provides an anaphora which reinforces the rhetorical point by adding a further meta phor for Barine's hapless new lovers ('a whole host of young men is growing up for you, indeed a whole slave gang'). Such emphatic anaphora of verbs is found elsewhere in the *Odes* in similar asyndetic clauses; cf. e.g. 1.19.5 7 *urit me Glycera nitor* | . . . |*urit grata proteruitas*, 3.5.21 2 *derepta uidi; uidi* | *retorta*, and for the whole topic see the useful material in Bo 1960: 397 405. **priores:** balances *noua*.

19 impiae . . . **dominae:** i.e. violating the *pietas* of erotic fidelity ([Tib.] 3.17.1, Ov. *Ars* 2.321, *TLL* X.1.2232.72); *domina* (again echoing the ele giac language of erotic slavery: 18 n.) also suggests contravening the *pietas* of proper master/slave relations (cf. *TLL* X.1.2233.13). **tectum** . . . **relinquunt:** *tectum* implies that the lovers are amusingly crowded together indoors rather than (as often in Latin love elegy) shut out individually on the threshold (*exclusi amatores*: on this idea see still Copley 1956). This suggests that they are privileged young men confident enough to occupy her house, like the suitors of the *Odyssey* who similarly fail (for different reasons) in their erotic quest for Penelope; this mythological parallel matches that of the sown men in 17 *crescit*, and the idea of Barine as an amoral Penelope is ironically entertaining.

20 saepe minati 'though they have often threatened to do so', a com pressed expression which neatly fits into the short last line (adonaean) of the Sapphic stanza and is thus given special emphasis; for the simple past participle expressing a concessive (a prosaic construction) cf. Kühner and Stegmann 1914: I.776 7; in H. this may echo the use of the same construc tion in Greek poetry (cf. Kühner and Gerth 1904: 84 5). Barine's former lovers show the traditionally irresolute behaviour of the elegiac poet lover.

21 2 te . . . **metuunt** . . . **te:** the anaphora of the second person pronoun suggests hymn style as often in Latin poetry (N H on 1.10.9), here inverted in a kind of negative aretalogy (list of divine qualities); Barine is feared by the families of her potential lovers like a malign goddess (cf. Fortuna at 1.35.9 12 *te* . . . |*purpurei metuunt tyranni*, *TLL* VIII.905.4), matching the more conventional gods of 13 16. Ensor 1903: 108 9 plausibly suggested that H. is here parodying the address to the god Hymenaeus (Barine's opposite) at Catull. 61.51 5 *te suis tremulus parens* | *inuocat, tibi uirgines* | *zonula soluunt sinus,* | *te timens cupida nouos* | *captat aure maritus* (similarly mentioning parents, maidens and husbands). **matres** . . . **iuuencis:** *iuuen cus*, literally 'bullock', seems to mean 'young man' here, aided by its etymo logical link with *iuuenis* (so *OLD* s.v. c); we may compare the use of πόρτις,

'calf', to mean 'maiden' at Lycophron *Al.* 102 (see Hornblower's note). The metaphor recalls the analogy between human and bovine lovers in 2.5 (cf. Ov. *Am.*2.12.23 4), stressing the animal instincts of these erotically driven young men. The dative is standard after *metuo* for the person for whom fears are felt (*TLL* VIII.904.24); for maternal fears for sons (usually on the battlefield, here in unequal sexual encounter with the *femme fatale* Barine) cf. 1.1.24 5, 3.2.7, 4.5.9 14.

22 senes parci 'parsimonious old men', afraid that their sons will spend the family wealth on the courtesan Barine, following the stereotypical pattern of Greek and Roman New Comedy (cf. Hunter 1985: 97 109).

22 3 miseraeque . . . **nuptae:** echoes Call. *Ep.*25 Pf. 5 6 ταλαίνης | νύμφης, 'wretched bride', similarly used of a bride ignored for the greater attrac tions of another (see introduction). **nuper | uirgines:** these new brides, only recently sexually initiated, naturally feel unequal to erotic competi tion with an experienced professional.

23 4 tua ne retardet | aura maritos '(fear you), that your mere scent may detain their husbands': this double construction with *metuo* (followed by both an object and a clause) is a colloquial usage found in Plautus and Terence (*TLL* VIII.903.63 6). *retardet* suggests by understatement the dangerous public allure of Barine in Rome (cf. 9 10); for *aura* of scents carried by the air cf. Mart.11.8.2, *TLL* II.1474.9. *aura* has been needlessly emended (*cura* in some MSS, *ora* (with *retardant*) Schrader, both unattrac tive suggestions; for more see the Oslo database): like a goddess, again (21 2 n.; compare Venus' 'divine fragrance' at Virg. *A.* 1.403), Barine gives off an attractive aroma, which can distract men in the street (cf. Pliny *NH* 13.20 *ut transeunte femina odor inuitet etiam aliud agentes*, Mart. 3.55, a woman passes smelling like a perfume shop); for the specifically erotic quality of female fragrance in Rome cf. Prop. 2.29a.17, Ov. *Am.* 3.1.7, *Medic.* 19. This quasi divine scent is perhaps combined here with the less elevated allusion to the scent of an animal on heat (see Virg. *G.* 3.250 1, N H here). **maritos:** the last word leaves a closing impression of Barine's potential as a marriage breaker (contrast the more positive endings at 2.6.24 *amici*, 2.7.28 *amico*).

9 SUMMARY

Valgius, rain and other forces of nature do not last for ever (1 8); nor should your lament for the dead boy Mystes, on whom you lavish more mourning than was given to the epic youths Antilochus or Troilus (9 17). Cease your unmanly complaints and join with me in singing of the recent victories of Augustus in the East (17 24).

Metre

Alcaic stanza (see Introduction, section 7).

C. Valgius Rufus, the addressee of this poem, was a literary man who was briefly suffect consul in 12 BCE, perhaps something of an honorary appointment (Syme 1986: 55 6). We find him in H.'s work early on as one of the first group of readers who H. hopes will be pleased by *Satires* 1 (*S.* 1.10.81 2 *Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,* | *Valgius*). He showed some versatility as a writer: apart from the elegies alluded to here, we find him referred to (perhaps unreliably) in the *Panegyricus Messallae* (set in 31 BCE, but probably written after Ovid: cf. Peirano 2012: 132 48) as a potential epic encomiast for Messalla (179 80 *est tibi qui possit magnis se accingere rebus* | *Valgius: aeterno propior non alter Homero*); he is the addressee of Tibullus 1.10 and seems to have formed part of the literary circle around Messalla. He is named by Quintilian (3.1.18, 3.5.17) as translator of the rhetorical handbook of his (and Augustus': Suet. *Aug.* 89) teacher Apollodorus, while Pliny the Elder mentions a prose work on herbal medicine with a complimentary preface to Augustus (*NH* 25.4.6). Further preserved fragments include lines from poems of various kinds, including a journey elegy, two pastoral hexameters and admiring elegiacs on the neoteric poet Cinna, which may be alluded to in the reference to Nestor in lines 13 15 (13 14 n.); for accounts of Valgius' career and fragments see Dahlmann 1982: 34 47, Hollis 2007: 287 99.

The poem must be dated after 16 January 27 BCE since it alludes to the *princeps* by the name Augustus (19), received on that date (*Res Gestae* 34.2 with Cooley 2009: 261 2). *Histricos* in line 1 could be a contemporary allusion to recent troubles on the Danube frontier in the early 20s (1 n.). The victories in the East mentioned at the end of the poem seem to focus strongly on Augustus' triple triumph of 29 and its imagery (20 n., 21 n., 21 2 n.); *noua* does not indicate new or recent events (18 n.), and the poem seems to make use of the proem to the third book of Virgil's *Georgics*, probably published in the early summer of 29 BCE and looking forward to Augustus' imminent celebrations (*G.* 3.30 3):

addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten
fidentemque fuga Parthum uersisque sagittis;
et duo rapta manu diuerso ex hoste tropaea
bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis.

Apart from the verbal echoes (cf. 19 *tropaea*, 20 *Niphaten*), Virgil's 'peoples doubly triumphed over from either shore' may be reflected in the widely divided double location of Augustus' supposed victories in lines 18 24 (Armenia/Parthia and Scythia). Williams (1993 4: 403 4) suggests that

these locations may reflect Valgius' own campaigns under Messalla in the years after Actium (in which he would have been a comrade of Tibullus, cf. Tib. 1.7), but we have no indication elsewhere that Valgius had a military career, and the allusions seem more likely to be poetic than historical. The excessive lamentation of Valgius for Mystes also picks up that of Orpheus in *Georgics* 4 for Eurydice, equally self indulgent and pointless (10 12 n.).

The issue of how far Valgius' own poetry is alluded to here is difficult given the loss of almost all of it (only some sixteen lines survive); Holzberg 2008 makes an ambitious attempt to argue that the opening two stanzas reflect Valgius' lost elegies in detail, and that the last two stanzas invert a Valgian elegiac *recusatio* (refusal to write epic); see also Murgatroyd 1975. An elegy on the loss of Mystes presumably existed as the notional trigger for this poem (17 18 n.), and might have inspired the imagery of lines 1 9; the details in lines 10 12 may derive from Cinna and (again) from Virgil's recent *Georgics* and the lament of Orpheus as well as (or even rather than) Valgius' own work (10 12 n.). Given that Valgius may have written some epic poetry (see above), the allusions to cyclic epic in the fourth stanza of this poem could pick up some lost work of his in that line, as well as (perhaps) his elegiac use of Nestor (13 14 n.), but this must remain speculation in the current state of the evidence.

As in the case of H.'s ode to Tibullus (1.33), where there is surprisingly little close intertextual recall of the elegist's available first book, the key point is the ideological contrast between the self indulgent laments of elegiac poetry and the more pragmatic world of Horatian lyric. 1.33 opens in a very similar way with an attack on elegiac hypersensitivity (1 4):

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
immitis Glycerae neu miserabilis
decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
  laesa praeniteat fide.

miserabilis . . . elegos here matches 9 *flebilibus modis* (9 n.), and there is a clear link between H.'s no nonsense approaches to the perceived over senti mentality of his two elegist friends.

The death of Mystes, probably presented as a favourite slave boy given his Greek name (10 n.) and the beautiful youths who serve as comparisons in 13 17 (cf. Porphyrio on 2.9.1, *amicum suum solatur morte delicati pueri graviter adfectum*), was presumably a theme of Valgius' verse. Statius' *Silvae* 2.1 is addressed to Atedius Melior on the real life death of his *puer delicatus* Glaucias (2.1), and that poem engages in much more extensive consola tion of its addressee than Horace's ode. As Hollis 2007: 292 points out we should be sceptical about Mystes' existence even at the fictional level given the parallel of Glycera in 1.33, a character never found in the elegies of the

addressee Tibullus; if he was indeed a real person H.'s ode runs the risk of appearing callous. Valgius thus may have matched Tibullus in addressing love elegy to a boy, but even if celebrated in poetry Mystes need be no more 'real' than Tibullus' Marathus or indeed Propertius' Cynthia. It has been suggested that Mystes' loss is simply a loss of the boy to an erotic rival, a common theme of elegy (Quinn 1963: 160 1, Anderson 1968: 35 44), or that military service in the locations named in lines 20 4 may have taken him away from Valgius (Holzberg 2008: 26), but *ademptum* (10 n.) indi cates death, reinforced by the mythological analogies of the clearly dead Antilochus and Troilus.

The structure of the ode can be seen as fundamentally bipartite: the poem seems to reprise its opening at the opening of its second half, thus breaking into two sections. The first pair of stanzas lists locations where bad weather is common but not continuous: geographically, the four places named are distributed across the Roman world, from the Danube (perhaps) and Scythia (the Caspian) to the East (Armenia) and ending nearer home with the Gargano peninsula on the east coast of Italy. This list is picked up by a counterbalancing list in the final pair of stanzas of foreign locations associated with praising the military triumphs of Augustus, a clear element of ring composition: here we have Armenia (again), Parthia and Scythia (again).

These two lists of locations contribute to the poem's argument. The suggestion is that lists of places in poetry can have a more positive content than the opening scenario imagines: natural scenes providing arguments against the lamentation which is Valgius' current undesirable theme can be turned into landscapes of martial achieve ment, the theme he should be pursuing, especially when the two lists both cover similar locations of importance in Augustan military strat egy. In between these two lists we find two stanzas which neatly juxtapose Valgius' elegiac lament for Mystes (in the third stanza) with parallel laments for Antilochus and Troilus deriving from the epic tradition (in the fourth); here the point is that the modest form of elegy in Valgius' hands has inappropriately exceeded the grandeur of epic mourning. The unity of the first and second pair of stanzas is marked by the occurrence and prominent position of *non . . . semper* in both pairs (1, 13 17); the word *semper* also frames the second pair, standing emphatically in second place in 9 and at the end of its sentence in 17. *semper* is a key term for the poem: the (non) ever lasting nature of all phenomena in life is a central point in its argu ment, that Valgius cannot lament for ever.

As critics have noted, the personification of elements of landscape as expressing emotion in the first pair of stanzas prepares the reader for the

human emotions of the second pair: *imbres ... manant* suggests the flowing of tears in lament, *uexant, inaequales* and *laborant* point to the analogy between physical attack and endurance and psychological disturbance and resistance, while *iners* looks to depressed human inaction and *uiduantur* to Valgius' bereavement. This technique was also used in 1.9.1 4:

Vides ut alta stet niue candidum
Soracte nec iam sustineant onus
siluae laborantes geluque
flumina constiterint acuto?

Here the opening looks forward symbolically to the vegetative image for youth and age in 17 18 *donec uirenti canities abest | morosa.* It is just possible that the ninth poem of the second book is intended to recall the ninth poem of the first (note that 1.13 and 2.13 similarly both allude prominently to Sappho). Nisbet and Hubbard suggest a sympotic origin for this use of the pathetic fallacy; Alcaeus is a strong possibility given that one sympotic poem of his began by looking at the weather and probably then turned to analogies with human life (N H 1.116 17), a pattern picked up by H. at 1.7.15 18:

albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam uitaeque labores ...

The overall framework of 2.9, addressing another poet, giving literary advice to avoid a particular kind of poetry and then turning at the end of the poem to praise of Augustus as a future theme for both writers, is repeated in 4.2, where Iullus Antonius is warned not to imitate Pindar, but to celebrate Augustus' recent triumph over the Sygambri (Harrison 2007b: 198 204).

This illuminates the end of this poem, which envisages both H. and Valgius (however potentially) turning to the theme of political praise. Valgius, a versatile poet and potential panegyrist of Messalla (see above), can switch from erotic elegy to laudatory elegy easily enough; Gallus after all had praised the conquests of Julius Caesar (fr. 2 Hollis), while Propertius was to turn to more panegyrical themes in his fourth book. Likewise Horace, in his laudation of Augustus alongside Valgius (10 *cantemus*), can simply utilise the panegyrical potential of lyric to praise the deeds of great rulers which goes back to Pindar, as he does in Books 3 and 4. It seems hard to read this close of the poem as ironic or doubting of Augustan political and military achievement (but see Putnam 1990a for an interesting attempt).

Select bibliography

Quinn 1963: 158 62; Anderson 1968; Murgatroyd 1975; Macleod 1979b; Putnam 1990a; Williams 1993 4; Ancona 1994: 105 13; Holzberg 2008; Nadeau 2008: 215 28.

1 **Non semper:** impermanence, a key theme of the poem's argument (see above), is stressed right at the beginning and repeated in the same words at the start of the second half (13 17 *non* ... *semper*). **imbres** evokes the metaphorical use of 'showers' for tears (*OLD* s.v. *imber* 3a). **nubibus:** for the ablative of source with *manare* cf. 1.17.14 16 *copia* | *manabit* ... *benigno* | ... *cornu*, and for the juxtaposition with *imbres* (indicating rain's physical origin) cf. Virg. *E.* 6.38 *cadant summotis nubibus imbres.* **Histricos :** the transmitted *hispidos*, literally 'bristling', could be attractively anthropomorphic in this symbolic context (see above), suggesting tears (see on *imbres* above) falling on Valgius' cheeks unshaven during Roman mourning (see West here); less likely is the idea that the hair symbolised is the first beard of Mystes which means his career as a beautiful boy is over (Holzberg 2008: 25). The adjective would go well with *agros* as it can be used of unkempt landscapes (cf. Statius *Theb.* 6.256 *hispida* ... *iuga, TLL* VII.2833.28 31). However, the first line seems to need a geographical epithet to match *mare Caspium* (2), *Armeniis* ... *oris* (4) and *querqueta Gargani* (7); some have also thought that *nubibus* needed an epithet. Both needs are met by Shackleton Bailey's *Histricis.* But Peerlkamp's *Histricos* is perhaps even better: *agros* would then have a geographical epithet and its common meaning of 'territory', here as elsewhere in H. using the poetic plural (cf. 3.5.55 *Venafranos in agros, S.* 2.8.56 *Campanis excitat agris,* and esp. *Ep.* 1.7.10 *quodsi bruma niues Albanis inlinet agris*), and matching *Armeniis in oris* (4 below). With *Histricos* (neatly balancing *Caspium* in the next line in position and metrical shape as well as word type) we have an allusion to a then troubled border region on the Danube; cf. Virg. *G.* 2.497 *coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro* with Mynors' note, N H I.xxxiii iv.

2 **manant:** as commentators point out, the verb is more appropriate to the slow drip of tears (4.1.34 *manat rara meas lacrima per genas*) than to that of rainfall, thus strongly encouraging the symbolic interpretation here (see introduction above). **mare Caspium:** the Caspian sea is notoriously stormy (Mela 3.38, Curtius 6.4.18 19), but also topical like the Danube (above) and Armenia (below), since its region was associated with Augustan military achievements after Actium (cf. Virg. *A.* 6.798: the *Caspia regna* fear Augustus).

3 **uexant:** the verb covers both climatic buffeting (Lucr. 1.275, *OLD* s.v. 1a) and psychological harassment (Lucr. 2.3, *OLD* s.v. 5a). The Lucretian colour here is significant, since this kind of weather analogy evokes the central Epicurean image of mental trouble as sea storm (see conveniently Fowler 2002: 28 32, 41 2). **inaequales procellae:** the adjective means

'irregular, unpredictable' (see N H), but here indicates a lack of philosophi cal equanimity, *mens aequa* (see 2.3.1 with N H), highly appropriate to the psychological symbolism. For figuratively disturbing *procellae* cf. *OLD* s.v. 2.

4 **usque** 'continually' (for the temporal sense cf. 2.18.23, *Ep.* 1.10.24, *AP* 354, *OLD* s.v. 5b), emphatically placed at the end of its clause and in enjambment (for the late position cf. *AP* 354), stressing the key theme of (non) permanence in the poem (picking up 1 *semper*). **Armeniis in oris:** *orae* is here used periphrastically in the sense of 'region', in the plural and with a topographical adjective as often since Virgil, who seems to introduce this poetic usage (*TLL* IX.2.864.49 54). Like the Danube and Caspian above, Armenia is topical in the 20s, a region of strategic concern after Actium: cf. Gruen 1996: 158 9.

5 **amice Valgi:** the vocative *amice* is very rarely conjoined with a proper name, perhaps indicating an especially familiar address here (for its warmth cf. Dickey 2000: 148 9). In classical Latin the only parallels are Plaut. fr. 86 Lindsay *amice ex multis mi une Cephalio*, Catull. 77.1 *Rufe mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice* [so GR; O reads *amico*, plausibly], Mart. 4.80.2 *amice Maron* (ironic). **stat glacies iners:** this is the only example of *glacies* in Horace, a word found in Virgil (7x in the recent *Georgics*) and Lucretius (3x); for *sto* of ice cf. *OLD* s.v. 5b, which like *iners* again suggests personification, pointing to the lack of activity brought on by freezing cold (cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.790 *frigus iners*) as well as by Valgius' excessive mourning (cf. V.Fl. 4.169 *luctuque absumor inerti*).

6 **mensis per omnis:** 'months' points to the key idea of seasonality and cyclic change; the phrase modifies both *stat* and *laborant*. For the poetic word order with *per* between noun and this adjective stressed by final phrase position, cf. Lucr. 5.398 *terrasque per omnis*, 5.784 *camposque per omnis* (repeated at Virg. *G.* 1.482). **Aquilonibus:** the north wind is consistently characterised as aggressive and cold in the *Odes*; cf. 1.3.13, 3.10.4, 3.30.3.

7 **querqueta Gargani:** *querquetum* (only here in Horace) is a rare and prosaic word of agriculture (Varro *RR* 1.16.6) indicating a group of oaks (*quercus*, cf. *uinetum*, 'vineyard', at *Ep.* 1.7.84, 2.1.220; for the collective neuter word type cf. Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: I.334 5). The still extensive oak forests (modern Foresta Umbra) on the mountainous promontory of Gargano, projecting into the Adriatic on the eastern coast of Italy, are mentioned again at *Ep.* 2.1.202 *Garganum mugire potes nemus.* This final location in the opening list brings the reader back to Italy and Horace's approximate native region on the eastern side of the central Appennine ridge; Williams (1993 4: 404) argues that this location suggests that Valgius may have been a fellow easterner with H., citing the Hirpine estate of another Valgius (Cic. *Agr.* 3.3), but the Appennine hill country of the

Hirpini seems too far away from Gargano to be relevant here. **laborant:** again personification, here suggesting subjection to physical assault or pressure, as well as psychological distress (for *laboro* in this sense cf. *OLD* s.v. 3); the strain is more physical. This transfer seems to be linked with a botanical usage of the verb for non thriving plants (*TLL* VII.2.805.67 9). N H note the celebrated use of this passage in A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* (1896), 31.1: 'On Wenlock Edge the wood's in trouble'; this seems to pick up both the specific naming and the high location of *Gargani.*

8 foliis uiduantur: the verb suggests human bereavement, following Virg. *G.* 4.518 *aruaque Riphaeis numquam uiduata prunis* (again in a context of mourning), while the common analogy of hair and leaves (see Thomas on 4.10.3) could allude symbolically (and transgenderly) here to the Roman practice of the offering of a lock of hair as a female mourning ritual (Prop. 1.17.21, *Cons. Liv.* 98, Sen. *Phaed.* 1181 2). **orni:** for the *ornus* (manna ash, *fraxinus ornus*) and its mountain habitat cf. Virg. *E.* 6.71, *G.* 2.111, *A.* 10.766.

9 tu semper urges: the third person vignette of the first two stanzas now changes to second person description of the addressee. *Semper* and *urges* both express excess (on the theme of *semper* in the poem see introduc tion); *urges* suggests that Valgius is uselessly harassing the dead Mystes (for *urgeo* in this sense see Prop.4.11.1 *desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepul crum, OLD* s.v. 8a) with lamentation which is pointless according to the materialist Epicurean doctrine in which the dead have no perception; cf. famously Lucr. 3.830 977. **flebilibus modis** alludes to one etymology of 'elegy' (Greek *e legein* = 'cry woe'), just as at 1.33.2 3 *miserabilis* | ... *elegos*; *modi* can mean both 'melody, poetry' (cf. 2.1.40 *quaere modos leuiore plectro, OLD* s.v. 8) and 'metre' (cf. *S.* 1.4.58 *tempora certa modosque, OLD* s.v. 7).

10 Mysten: the name means 'initiate' and was a real one, found eleven times in Latin inscriptions from Rome, usually of Greek freedmen (cf. e.g. *CIL* 6.13405, 6.16094, 6.46970). **ademptum** 'taken away' in the euphe mistic sense of 'dead': cf. 2.4.10 *ademptus Hector* and often since Plautus (*OLD* s.v. *adimo* 8).

10 12 nec tibi Vespero | surgente decedunt amores | nec rapidum fugiente solem: alludes to Orpheus' similarly excessive grief for Eurydice at Virg. *G.* 4.466 *te veniente die, te decedente canebat* (cf. Putnam 1990a: 230); *decedo* in both cases alludes to astronomical setting (*TLL* V.1.122.30 2), suggesting the idea that erotic complaints continue ceaselessly through the possible end points of sunset and dawn (*surgo* points to the rising of the evening star, *OLD* s.v. 4). Both Virgil and H. allude to Cinna fr.10 Hollis (the grief of Smyrna) *te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous* | *te flentem paulo post vidit Hesperus idem*; the passage might also have been imitated by Valgius himself in his elegy for Mystes, as commentators suggest. **amores:** the plural

(slightly odd otherwise) might allude to the title of an elegy book by Valgius, given *Amores* was so used by Ovid and (probably) Gallus (Servius on Virg. *E.* 10.1); the Greek equivalent Ἔρωτες was the title of a Hellenistic pederastic elegiac collection by Phanocles certainly used by Virgil (*A.* 10.187 93 with Harrison's note), a fitting allusion here. This introduces a note of inter generic literary criticism: like Tibullus' elegies (1.33.3 *decantes elegos* with N H's note), Valgius' go on too much, especially compared to the more compact Horatian ode (average length of poem in Tibullus 1 = 81.2 lines, in Horace *Odes* 2 = 28.4 lines). **rapidum fugiente solem:** *rapidum* evokes the Sun's traditional speedy chariot (cf. 1.22.21, *CS* 9), while for the idea of one heavenly body 'retreating' before its successor cf. 3.21.24 *dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus* and N H's note here. For the hiatus between stanzas in Alcaics (*em* is not elided here) cf. 2.13.8 n.

13 14 at non: with *semper* in 17, picks up *non semper* in line 1 the second half of the poem begins with the same theme as the first. For such *da capo* structures in the *Odes* see Tarrant 1995. **ter aeuo functus** . . . . . . **senex:** Nestor, whose famously triple lifespan (cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.250, Powell on Cic. *Sen.* 31) is here evoked in a phrase which suggests that he had 'done with' life three times, i.e. lived too long, a complaint he seems to have made over the body of his son Antilochus in some literary representation (see on *Antilochus* below). The mention of Nestor here may recall an allusion to his Homeric eloquence (cf. *Il.* 1.247 9) in an elegiac fragment of Valgius himself, praising Cinna (fr. 166.3 4 Hollis): *dulcior ut numquam Pylio profluxerit ore | Nestoris.* **amabilem:** a fairly prosaic term (Axelson 1945: 102 3), stressing the parallel of the dead Antilochus with the beautiful boy Mystes; the tradition that the handsome Antilochus was the object of Achilles' erotic attention (Philostratus *Imag.* 2.7) is relevant here. The Mystes/Antilochus, Nestor/Valgius analogy implicitly casts Valgius as both lover and father, which might seem bizarre, but a relationship with a *puer delicatus* could be quasi parental: cf. Statius *Silv.* 2.1.23 (Melior and his dead Glaucias) *teque patrum gemitus superantem et bracchia matrum.*

14 15 omnis . . . **annos:** picks up 6 *mensis per omnis* and points again to Nestor's praeternaturally long life. The poetic hyperbaton dividing noun and adjective stresses *omnis* ('all his many'). **Antilochum:** Nestor's son in the *Iliad*, whose death at the hands of Memnon with Nestor's consequent lamentation over the body must have been related in a literary representa tion (cf. Juv. 10.250 4), perhaps Aeschylus' *Memnon* (so Courtney 1980: 478) or the cyclic epic *Aethiopis* (so West 2013: 145 6); it is not impossible that Valgius himself may have alluded to this myth (see introduction above). **impubem parentes:** the juxtaposition suggests the traditional idea that war tragically inverts the normal order in making parents bury their children (Herodotus 1.87). *impubem* reflects Troilus'

characterisation in art and literature as very young at his death (*LIMC* VI s.v. *Troilus* 2, Quintus Smyrnaeus 4.431).

16 Troilon: the Greek accusative, here metrically necessary, is paralleled in Latin only at Statius *Silv.* 2.6.33 *Troilon,* in an imitation of this passage (see below). The early death of Troilus, son of Priam, at the hands of Achilles in the pre *Iliad* part of the Troy story, narrated in the epic *Cypria* (West 2013: 121 2), was certainly the subject of prominent lamentation from his father (Call. fr. 491 Pf.). Like Antilochus he is said to have been a beautiful boy (see N H and Quintus Smyrnaeus 4.418 34) and to have received erotic attention from Achilles (Servius on Virg. *A.* 1.474), relevant here to the parallel with Mystes; note that Statius at *Silv.* 2.6.32 3 also compares the dead Philetus, the *puer delicatus* of Flavius Ursus, to the dead and beautiful Troilus. The choice of one dead youth from the Trojan side to follow one from the Greek side in the Trojan War suggests the impartiality and universality of death. **Phrygiae sorores:** the daughters of Priam and Hecuba presumably joined their parents in lamentation for their brother, like the sisters of the similarly beautiful Phaethon (Virg. *A.* 10.190 1 with Harrison's note).

17 semper: a key word in the poem (see introduction) here standing emphatically at the end of its sentence and cutting across the structural boundary between the fourth and fifth stanzas (cf. the marked position of *usque* in line 4).

17 18 desine mollium | tandem querelarum: *tandem* points again to exces sive length (see on 10 12 *amores* above), while both *mollium* and *querelarum* pick up terms used by elegists to characterise their own work: for *mollis* see Fedeli 2005: 45, for *querela* Tib. 1.2.9, Prop. 1.18.29 (it may indeed mean 'elegiac inscription' at *Odes* 3.11.52). For the mid line command to the addressee expressing a key point of the poem cf. 2.5.9 10 *tolle cupidinem | immitis uuae,* and for the Grecising genitive after *desine* see N H; the same imperative marks the closure of an ode at 1.23.11 (see Schrijvers 1973: 143), surely with some self reflexive element ('cease'). For this feature in poetic closure see 2.4.24 n.

18 19 noua | cantemus 'let us rather sing of new topics'. I prefer to posit a syntactical pause after this phrase (marked by a comma), reading *noua* not as agreeing with *tropaea* but as nominalised neuter plural, used simi larly of a new poetic subject at Manilius 3.1 *in nova surgentem maioraque viribus ausum*; the identity of the new topic would then be specified by the noun pair *tropaea / Niphaten* and the clause pair *Medum … uoluere* and *Gelonos … equitare.* This interpretation solves a potential historical problem (clear in the note of N H here), since the victories of lines 20 4 look back to 29 BCE and not to new post 27 triumphs (see introduction).

19 20 Augusti ... | **Caesaris:** only here and at *Ep.* 2.2.48 does H. give both names to the *princeps*, to grand encomiastic effect as in the only two Virgilian examples, both in major political contexts (*A.* 6.792, 8.678). **tropaea:** like 20 *Niphaten* recalls the description of the future Augustus' victories at Virg. *G.* 3.30 3 (3.32 *duo* ... *diuerso ex hoste tropaea*; see introduction); this metapho rical use of *tropaeum* to mean simply 'victory' rather than 'victory trophy' (N H look in vain for real trophies) occurs since Cicero (*OLD* s.v. 2). **rigidum Niphaten:** a mountain range in modern Kurdistan (Powell 2009: 156 7), no doubt represented in the future Augustus' triumph of 29 as a token of Eastern victories (for images of 'conquered' mountains in Roman triumphs see Östenberg 2009: 231 n.179). This wintry location (*rigidum* suggests a location stiff with ice, picking up the etymology of *Niphates* from νιφάς, 'snow') returns to the frozen Armenian landscape of lines 4 5, now reapplied in a firmly encomiastic context; *rigidum* thus contrasts neatly with 17 *mollium* in both literal and literary terms (Valgius is to write manly war poetry not effeminate love elegy).

21 Medumque flumen: the Euphrates (so Powell 2009: 157 8), presum ably another token of Eastern victory displayed in 29 (cf. Virg. *A.* 8.726 *Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis*; for river images carried in triumphs see Östenberg 2009: 216 18, 230 45).

21 2 gentibus additum | uictis: i.e. added to the impressive list of con quered peoples paraded through pictorial representations in Roman triumphs (cf. Virg. *A.* 8.722 *uictae longo ordine gentes*, Östenberg 2009: 219 25). **minores uoluere uertices:** *uertices* (note the forceful alliteration with *uoluere*) refers to eddies in a river (cf. Virg. *A.*7.731 (of the Tiber) *uerticibus rapidis*). For the conceit of the humbled river shown in a triumph see N H here and Östenberg 2009: 241 5. The quieting of the waves here in conquest contrasts with the uncontrolled storms of lamentation of lines 1 3 which are to be calmed and replaced by this new encomiastic subject.

23 4 intraque praescriptum Gelonos | exiguis equitare campis: the emphasis on reduction here picks up 22 *minores*; the Geloni, nomadic Scythians in the region of modern Ukraine, are transformed from wild cavalry on the plains into tamed and controlled riders. Though hopefully included in the triumph of 29 they were as yet unconquered (cf. Virg. *A.* 8.725 *sagittiferosque Gelonos*; for more on the Gelonians in H. see Powell 2009: 158 9). *praescriptum* for horsemen suggests marked out lines for racing or circuits for dressage (cf. Lucr. 6.92 3 *tu mihi supremae praescripta ad candida calcis* | *currenti spatium praemonstra*, Prop. 3.3.21 *cur tua prae scriptos euecta est pagina gyros?* with Fedeli's note). Fowler 1995: 257 notes the possible analogy between the limits imposed on the Geloni here and the Callimachean aesthetics of the *Odes* (*exiguis*).

10 SUMMARY

Licinius, moderation is best in life; the lofty are often struck down (1 12). The sensible man hopes in adversity and fears in prosperity. Life and attitudes can change: be resolute in difficulty and restrained in success (13 24).

Metre

Sapphics (see Introduction, section 7).

The addressee of this poem has often been identified as 'Licinius Murena'. This could refer to the brother in law of Maecenas, who is said to have conspired against Augustus in 23 or 22 BCE and who was put to death as a result (Dio 54.3.4 5; for the problem of this character's name and the detailed political background see Syme 1986: 387 92), and who is identified by some with the consul of 23 usually known as Varro Murena who may have used the name Licinius (see further Woodman 1977: 270 1, with good arguments against the identification). N H regard the apparently Peripatetic allusion to *mediocritas* (5) as a proof that Horace's addressee is Licinius Murena, since he was associated with the Peripatetic philosopher Athenaeus (Strabo 14.5.4); but the school specific character of the term is in doubt here (5 n.), and even if it is firmly established, H. makes allusions elsewhere to this and other Peripatetic doctrines in poems without an addressee of Peripatetic interests (*S.* 1.1.106 7, *Ep.* 1.18.9; see Rudd 1993b: 70, Wigodsky 1980). M. Licinius Crassus, grandson of the triumvir, is not impossible as addressee of a poem on modera tion (so Watkins 1985 and Gerding 2004) given the apparent con troversy over his grand claim in 29 BCE to the high military honour of the *spolia opima* (cf. Rich 1996); for a useful summary of the issue of the addressee's identity overall see Miller 2009: 8 n.21. It seems best to agree with K H, Syndikus and Syme (above) that it is a Licinius whose identity we cannot establish; Licinius is a common *gentilicium* (there are 65 listed in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*). There is then no indication of date in the poem.

The poem centres on two key and highly conventional themes often treated in Horace: that moderation in life is the safest and most pru dent course (cf. e.g. 3.1.26), and that the wise man should be prepared for his fortune to change without warning (cf. e.g. 2.3.1 4). These are treated sequentially in the poem's two halves (1 12, 13 24). The first half expresses the idea of moderation through three striking symbolic

images, each contained in a single stanza: sailing on the sea (1 4), choice of home (5 8) and the greater exposure of high objects to the dangers of the elements (9 12). The second half deploys an initial gnomic statement about the advisability of being prepared for change (13 14) which is then illustrated by examples concerning gods: Jupiter's unpredictable manipulation of the weather and Apollo's instant capacity to move from archery to music (15 20). The last stanza (21 4) returns to the opening idea in the first stanza (1 4) of modera tion as a safety strategy in sailing: this provides a *da capo* ring composi tional ending (Tarrant 1995: 40 2).

Ethical generalising and exhortation is a common opening strategy in the *Odes*: we can compare the disquisition on the man who is *Integer uitae scelerisque purus* addressed to Fuscus in Book 1 (1.22.1), or the examina tion of the *Iustum et tenacem propositi uirum* in the third Roman Ode (3.3.1). N H's advocacy of Murena as addressee is partly driven by a desire to see the advice as especially relevant to the individual, but as Syndikus and others note, the advice given is extremely general and conventional, an effective strategy for the reader who can respond easily to such non sectarian universalities.

The poem is relatively bare in allusions to extant literature, though it is imitated by later writers in both Latin (Prop. 3.3.23 4, Sen. *HO* 694 9) and Greek (Lollius Bassus *AP* 10.102, probably written under Tiberius); Sen. *Ag.* 57 107 reworks many of the same themes (see Tarrant's com mentary). One key intertext is Lucretius, not surprisingly for a poem which uses illustrations from nature to make philosophical points. In particular, the theme of high places being especially exposed to climatic forces (9 12) picks up a famous passage (see also 9 11 n. and 11 12 n. for more Lucretian echoes), since at *DRN* 5.1127 30 the same idea is used as a symbol for the risks of human success:

inuidia quoniam ceu fulmine summa uaporant
plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cumque;
ut satius multo iam sit parere quietum
quam regere imperio res uelle et regna tenere.

The ideas of secure sailing and perilous palaces in the first two stanzas may also owe something to Virgil's recent picture of the virtuous and moderate farmer at the end of *Georgics* 2, contrasted with those who risk the open sea to travel abroad on campaign (*G.* 2.503 4; for the prominence of the *Georgics* in this book see Introduction, section 4):

sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum.

The first stanza's pairing of open sea and coast in a metaphorical context also occurs in the same Virgilian book, in the proem to Maecenas, who is asked to speed the poet on his way across the ocean of the poem (*G.* 2.41 *pelagoque uolans da uela patenti*) as well as helping him to coast (2.44 *ades et primi lege litoris oram*).

The poem links well with 2.9: both are poems of advice which open with the idea that no course of action is invariable (2.9.1 *non semper* ~ 2.10.1 2 *neque . . . | semper*) and which begin by using the imagery of nature to make their point (including the shared idea of trees and wind: 2.9.6 7 ~ 2.10.9 10); both counsel moderation and flexibility rather than excess and over tenacity (including the shared idea of unadvisable pressure: 2.9.9 *urges* ~ 2.10.2 *urgendo*) and urge manly attitudes on their recipients (2.9.17 18 ~ 2.10.21 2). For pairs of poems in this book, see Introduction, section 3. As Cucchiarelli 2006: 86 7 notes, it is neatly appropriate that this poem in the middle of the book treats the topic of 'middleness' (*mediocritas*).

Select bibliography

Watkins 1985; G. Davis 1991: 167 9; Tränkle 1994: 206 10; Görgemanns 1995; Tarrant 1995: 40 3; Holtermann 1997; Sutherland 2002: 118 25; Gerding 2004.

1 Rectius uiues: a general ethical idea; cf. *Ep.* 1.6.29 *recte uiuere*, 1.16.17 *tu recte uiuis*. Given the imagery of this stanza, N H suggest a reference to navigating a straight course, an echo of Lucr. 6.28 (on the straight road to virtue) *recto contendere cursu*. For full material on the image of life as a voyage invoked in this stanza cf. Bonner 1941; elsewhere H. suggests metaphorically that life's voyage can be accomplished just as well in a small vessel as in a large one (*Ep.* 1.1.92 3, 2.2.200 4), picking up an image of Ariston of Chios (*SVF* 1.396). **altum:** a substantivised poetic term for the high seas since Ennius (*TLL* 1.1781.71 4).

2 3 semper . . . | . . . **nimium:** the paired key ideas of invariability and excess, both to be avoided (see introduction above). **urgendo** . . . | . . . **premendo:** paired gerunds are found in H. otherwise only at *AP* 344 *lectorem delectando pariterque monendo*, perhaps reinforcing the didactic tone here; the two verbs are close in sense, both indicating close contact with an object. **procellas:** for *procella* of metaphorical storms cf. *OLD* s.v. 2, *TLL* x.2.151.27 30; the refer ence is gnomically general rather than indicating particular circum stances. **cautus horrescis:** the mental attitude and its physical manifestation are artfully juxtaposed for the combination cf. 2.13.15 *quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis | cautum est in horas. navita Bosphorum |*

Poenus perhorrescit. These are the only examples of *horresco* or its compounds in Horace; the inceptive form has a poetic colour (Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: I.536), as does its rare transitive use, 'shudder at', i.e. 'fear the possibility of' (first found here: cf. *OLD* s.v. 4).

4 **litus iniquum:** the shore is both uneven and hostile (cf. *OLD* s.v. *ini quus* 1, 6d), and the implied danger is that of going aground and/or shipwreck.

5 **auream:** suggests a doctrine of precious value, as in the *aurea dicta* of Epicurus for Lucretius (3.12). **mediocritatem:** the abstract noun is first used by Cicero, and at *Off.* 1.89 clearly represents the Aristotelian idea of μεσότης (*EN* 1.1106a27), the theory that virtue is a mean between two vices (e.g. generosity between meanness and extravagance). Here, however, it seems to be more general: before Aristotle μεσότης could be proclaimed as the safest course in all matters (*TGF* Adespota 547.6), and of course the general principle of moderation in all things (the Delphic μηδὲν ἄγαν, 'nothing in excess') is a well established idea in Greek and Roman culture.

6 7 **diligit:** used of affection for a guiding principle of life as at Cic. *Clu.* 200 *pudorem bonitatem virtutemque diligitis.* **tutus** 'sheltered', recalling the word's origin as passive participle of *tueor*, 'protect', and implying the safe cover of a modest residence, going with the first *caret* as *sobrius* goes with the second; Bentley punctuated after *tutus* to yield two clauses beginning with *caret*, but this destroys the chiastic balance *tutus caret* ... *caret* ... |*sobrius.* **caret** ... **caret:** for the emphatic anaphora cf. *Ep.* 2.2.206 7 *caret tibi pectus* | *inani ambitione? caret mortis formidine et ira?* For this use of *careo* of being free of evils cf. 2.14.13 n. **obsoleti | sordibus tecti:** cf. *Epod.* 17.46 *paternis obsoleta sordibus.* In both passages *obsoletus* seems to mean 'filthy, dingy' (*OLD* s. v.1b) the contrast is between a shameful hovel and an enviable and spacious palace (for *tectum* in the sense of 'rough shelter' cf. *OLD* s.v. 2b).

7 8 **inuidenda** ... **aula:** balances *obsoleti* ... *tecti. aula* suggests the palace of a monarch (cf. 4.6.16, *OLD* s.v. 2a), while for *inuidendus* of an elaborate home evoking envy cf. 3.1.45 *inuidendis postibus.* **sobrius:** there is some sound play with *sordibus*, similarly placed at the beginning of the previous line. The adjective means 'temperate', contrasting with the intemperance usually associated by Romans with the *regnum impotens* (Sen. *HF* 966) exercised from the kingly or tyrannic *aula* (for the tyrant as intemperate cf. Plat. *Rep.* 9.574d).

9 11 **saepius:** the comparative adverb (here only in H.) implies 'more often than other smaller trees', matching *grauiore*. Shackleton Bailey 1985 prints Burman's *saeuius*, but such illustrative images from nature often begin with 'often', especially in Lucretius, who uses *saepe* frequently in

such contexts (e.g. 1.897, 2.317, 2.352, 3.339, 4.606, 4.1203, 5.460, 6.134, 6.765). **uentis agitatur:** cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.26 *maria agitata uen tis.* **ingens** ... **celsae** ... **summos:** three adjectives all indicating great height, emphasising the key symbolic point that to be high is peri lous. **ingens | pinus:** cf. 2.3.9 *pinus ingens* with N H's note. **celsae** ... | ... **turres:** a combination first found here (see later Ov. *Met.* 3.61, Statius *Theb.* 5.352, 9.554 5, Silius 13.104 5); *celsus* is elevated and poetic (Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.261 2) . For lofty buildings as a sign of mortal success cf. 1.4.14 *regumque turris* and the tower built by Maecenas on the Esquiline (Suet. *Nero* 38.2, N H on 3.29.9 10). **grauiore casu | decidunt:** echoes Lucr. 1.741 *et grauiter magno cecidere ibi casu,* picking up the etymo logical play on *cado*; for the common idea of 'the higher they rise, the further they fall' see N H here and Ferri on [Sen.] *Oct.* 377 80.

11 12 feriuntque ... | ... **fulgura:** emphatic alliteration for a forceful event; the plural *fulgura* (only here in H. and strictly referring to the lightning flash rather than the thunderbolt) is found four times in Lucretius and is archaic in colour (Cic. *Leg.* 2.21), while *ferio* of lightning strikes is first found here (*TLL*.VI.1.514.5ff.). **summos** ... **montes:** the phrase goes back to Ennius (*Sat.* 67 V. *montibus summis*), while both the expression and the general context recall Lucr. 6.421 2 *altaque cur pler umque petit loca plurimaque eius | montibus in summis vestigia cernimus ignis?*

13 sperat infestis, metuit secundis: sc. *temporibus* or *rebus,* circumstantial ablatives like *rebus angustis* (21); cf. 4.9.35 6 *secundis | temporibus dubiisque rectus,* Sen. *Q Nat.* 3 pr.7 *itaque secundis nemo confidat, aduersis nemo deficiat,* Silius 6.14 *nec tamen aduersis ruerat tota Itala uirtus,* Tac. *Ann.* 2.14.3 *pauidos aduersis, inter secunda non diuini, non humani iuris memores,* and for the use of *infestus* of adverse fortune cf. *OLD* s.v. 4c. *spes* and *metus* are often contrasted as polar opposites in Latin (Leigh 1997: 15 n.12, Keulen 2001: 282). The carefully balanced asyndeton here (verb adjective, verb adjective) reflects the wise man's equanimity towards favourable and unfavourable circum stances for this topic cf. 2.3.1 4 with N H; for the emphatic initial position of the verb cf. 2.2.5 n.

14 15 alteram sortem 'the other possibility' (cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.676 *onerosior altera sors est*), i.e. bad or good fortune depending on the current posi tion. **bene praeparatum | pectus:** for the *pectus* as seat of emotion and moral sentiment, an elevated expression, see Brink on *Ep.* 2.1.128. *praepar atum* recalls *paratus* of moral and emotional preparation (*OLD* s.v. 4); for this Stoicising attitude to life cf. Aeneas at Virg. *A.* 6.103 5 *non ulla laborum | o uirgo, noua mi facies inopinaue surgit; | omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi,* and the material quoted by N H here. **informis hiemes:** the plural reinforces the idea of cyclicity (see on *reducit* below). Winters are

'formless', because of snow concealing the shape of the landscape: cf. Virg. *G.* 3.354 5 *sed iacet aggeribus niueis informis et alto | terra gelu* (the first such use of the adjective). **reducit** 'brings back in turn', similarly of divine action at *Epod.* 13.7 8 *deus haec fortasse benigna | reducet in sedem uice*; for this verb of the cycle of the seasons cf. Virg. *G.* 3.296 *dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas, OLD* s.v. 4a. The general argument is that time regularly reverses circumstances: cf. Virg. *A.* 11.425 6 *multa dies uariique labor mutabilis aeui | rettulit in melius.*

16 Iuppiter: acting both as supreme god controlling time and as weather god (cf. 2.6.17 18 *tepidasque praebet | Iuppiter brumas*). **idem:** of a single figure combining opposite powers, as at 2.19.27 *idem pacis | eras mediusque belli* (Bacchus); cf. *OLD* s.v. 7.

17 summouet: used of the removal of (adverse) weather conditions, as at Virg. *E.* 6.38 *summotis nubibus.* The verb is strongly emphasised by inter stanza enjambment followed by a stop (cf. 2.8.5).

17 18 non, si male nunc, et olim | sic erit: for this future use of *olim* ('some day') cf. Virg. *A.* 1.203 *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit, OLD* s.v. 3. **quondam** 'occasionally', transferred like *olim* from its normal use about the past, a usage first found in Latin in Lucretius (6.109 *carbasus ut quondam magnis intenta theatris, OLD* s.v. 3); it matches Lucretian *saepe* (9 11 n.) in its gnomic force, and echoes the similar use of Greek πότε (LSJ s.v.1).

18 19 cithara tacentem | suscitat musam 'rouses his (previously) silent music with the lyre'. The variant *citharae* is preferred by N H, but there is no parallel in Latin for the phrase *musa citharae,* 'music of the lyre', and *cithara* provides a better balance with *arcum.* For *musa* meaning 'music' cf. *S.* 2.6.17, *Ep.* 1.19.28, Virg. *A.* 10.198 (*tacentem* here also reminds us of the Muse as person). *Suscito* of 'awaking' music (only here) picks up a common metaphorical use of ἐγείρω in Greek poetry, especially in Pindar (LSJ s.v. 2).

19 20 neque semper arcum | tendit Apollo 'nor is it always his bow that Apollo stretches', appealing to the ambiguity of *tendo,* used of stringing the lyre (cf.1.1.34 *tendere barbiton*) as well as of extending the bow (for both uses cf. *OLD* s.v. 5b). As West notes, this description of Apollo reflects his iconography in Augustus' recently opened Palatine temple complex (dedicated October 28 BCE), where the god was certainly depicted as citharode in his cult statue (Prop. 2.31.5 6, 16), and may also have been depicted as archer (Prop. 2.31.13 14, 4.6.55 6). Propertius' poem on the temple contains a similar switch between Apolline roles which echoes H. (4.6.69 70): *bella satis cecini: citharam nunc poscit Apollo | uictor et ad placidos exuit arma choris.*

21 2 rebus angustis 'in tight circumstances' (for the metaphor cf. *OLD* s. vv. *angustus* 9, *angustia* 6; for the ablative cf. 13 14 n.). **animosus atque | fortis:** a standard pairing for courage, usually in the opposite order (Cic. *Mil.* 92 *fortis et animosos*, *Tusc.* 2.57 *fortis et animosi uiri*, Val.Max. 3.2.ext.5 *et fortis et animosa ciuitas Spartana*). *atque* appears at the end of a lyric line in the *Odes* only here (and in the disputed passage 3.11.18), but the trans mitted reading seems hard to doubt in this context. **appare:** 'show yourself' rather than merely 'appear' to have a quality; cf. *TLL* II.266.10 12. **idem:** resumptive, 'you, the same man'; cf. 3.12.10, *S.* 1.10.65, *OLD* s.v. 7. **sapienter:** both 'sensibly' and 'as befits a wise man'.

23 4 contrahes . . . **uela:** standard term for shortening sail to reduce speed (see N H's rich material). The future tense recalls that of 1 *uiues*, another element of return to the first stanza here. For closure using future verbs in the *Odes* cf. 1.22.13 *amabo* and Schrijvers 1973: 143. **uento nimium secundo:** picks up *secundis* (13); for the internal rhyme cf. 2.6.5 n. A following wind (the etymology from *sequor* is felt here) can be too strong and send a ship out of control cf. Seneca's imitation of H. at *Ag.* 90 1 *uela secundis inflata Notis | uentos nimium timuere suos.* **turgida:** the swelling sail symbolises good fortune as at *Ep.* 2.2.201 *non agimur tumidis uelis Aquilone secundo* (see Brink's note for this image in general).

11 SUMMARY

Quinctius, do not concern yourself with the plans of Rome's foreign ene mies, and do not worry about the needs of our transient human existence. Let us prepare a symposium and enjoy its pleasures while we can.

Metre

Alcaic (cf. Introduction, section 7).

Quinctius, like Septimius (2.6), is an addressee who appears again a few years later in Horace's *Epistles* (1.16), where he is given a description of the poet's farm and largely Stoic reflections on the life of virtue; here the first half of the ode has a similar moralising content, but the second half is strongly sympotic and matches the conclusion of 2.7 in inviting a friend to carouse. Quinctius is here addressed with a teasing local epithet; *Hirpine* indicates that he comes from the Samnite hill country of the Hirpini in central Italy, above Beneventum; he could be a relative of C. Quinctius Valgus, a beneficiary in this region of Sulla's proscriptions of 82 BCE (for details see N H). Lines 14 15 suggest that he and H. belong to the same middle aged generation, and the relatively colloquial tone of the poem

(cf. 3 4 *remittas* | *quaerere*, 11 12 *quid* . . . | . . . *fatigas*, 13 17 *cur non* . . . | *potamus*) may indicate that the two were familiar friends. Lines 13 20 seem to suggest a country or villa setting, with trees and a stream; Horace's *Sabinum* would be a possibility (see on 13 14); this is not excluded by the fact that the later *Ep.* 1.16 describes the farm to the same friend, a poetic device for the reader rather than new information for the addressee. The final invitation to Lyde might indicate a suburban location, as *hetaerae* are unlikely to be living so far from the city; on the other hand, 1.17 clearly envisages the *hetaera* Tyndaris visiting the Sabine estate. Commentators have suggested that suburban *horti* owned by Quinctius himself may be the location, but H.'s apparent role as inviting host and master of slaves indicates that we are to think of him as being on home territory. As often in the sympotic and erotic odes, it is impossible to pin down a precise location from the sparse evidence given.

The opening allusion to the Cantabrians in Spain suggests a date *c.*29 25 BCE (for details see the introductory note to 2.6); the Scythians (located roughly in modern Ukraine, east of the Danube and west of the Don) are commonly represented as distant enemies in the *Odes* (1.19.10, 1.35.9, 3.8.23, 3.24.9, 4.5.25), though Roman contact with them in this period was purely diplomatic (N H I.xxxiv; in 25 BCE they seem to have sent ambassadors to Augustus at Tarraco in Spain; cf. *Res Gestae* 31.2); for a full study of Scythians in H. see Powell 2009. The two peoples are paired again as distant enemies, now claimed as subdued, at 3.18.21 4 (see below).

Structurally, the ode clearly divides in the centre, where the moralising address to Quinctius in the first three stanzas moves into an invitation to the symposium in the last three. Such a 'sympotic turn' is found elsewhere at the centre of H.'s odes, e.g. in 1.7 and 3.14 (Harrison 2004: 88 90). Unity is neatly maintained in the second half's specific inversion of details in the first: the foreign threats raised at the beginning are now safely domesticated in the use of foreign unguents in the climactic symposium (16 *Assyria*) and in the invitation to the complaisant Asiatic *hetaira* Lyde (21 4). Likewise, the two questions about Quinctius' misplaced anxiety with repeated *quid* . . . *quid* (1, 11) enclose the poem's first half and are capped by two questions about symposiastic preparations in its second half with similarly repeated *quis* . . . *quis* (18, 21).

As has often been noted, a number of features of the poem recall the sympotic themes of the sixth century Anacreon (for H.'s imitation of his erotic poetry see introductory note to 2.5), and the later imitations of his manner in the *Anacreontea*, some of which may have been available to Horace (for the issue of dating cf. Rosenmeyer 1992). Both halves of the poem are Anacreontic in tone. The first half laments the passing of youth, the symptoms of advancing age and the brevity of remaining life in terms that recall Anacreon 395.1 6 *PMG*:

πολιοὶ μὲν ἡμὶν ἤδη
κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν,
χαρίεσσα δ᾽ οὐκέτ᾽ ἥβη
πάρα, γηραλέοι δ᾽ ὀδόντες,
γλυκεροῦ δ᾽ οὐκέτι πολλὸς
βιότου χρόνος λέλειπται·

Our temples are already grey and our hair white, and charming youth is no longer there, but aged teeth, and little time is left now of sweet life.

The second half picks up the Anacreontic theme of symposium pre paration (396 *PMG*), much elaborated in the *Anacreontea*: poem 4 rejects battles and armour for the joys of the symposium, poem 8 rejects wealth for drinking, poem 5 imagines erotic activity at a symposium in the shade, and poem 32 plans and describes a similar open air symposium with wine, roses, unguents and a girl and urges enjoyment of their pleasures while life allows.

Typically for H., material from Greek lyric is overlaid with elements from Hellenistic literature and philosophy. The theme of symposium preparation had by H.'s time been incorporated into epigram by Hellenistic poets such as Asclepiades (*AP* 5.185 = XXVI Sens: prepara tions for a symposium involving purchase of food and roses and the inviting of a *hetaira*) and Philodemus (*AP* 11.34 = 6 Sider: rough and uncultured symposiastic elements rejected in favour of flowers, music, unguents, wine and a girl). Epicurean ideas are especially strong in the first three stanzas of this poem, in which the addressee is exhorted not to feel anxiety about the imponderable future and to enjoy the present; this is widespread in the sympotic and erotic odes, e.g. 1.4.15 *uitae summa breuis spem nos uetat incohare longam* or 1.11.8 *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.* In particular, *nec trepides* (4) seems literally to translate the key Epicurean slogan of *ataraxia*, while the instruction not to weary the mind (11 12) seems specifically to recall Lucretian arguments on the material soul. Since Quinctius is regaled with largely Stoic doctrine in *Ep.* 1.16, the prominence of Epicureanism in this poem would seem to be due to the symposiastic context and the poet's own self presentation rather than to matching the putative philosophical views of the addressee.

Also in play here is Virgilian pastoral; the outdoor setting for the symposium in lines 13 16 closely recalls the opening of *Eclogue* 5 (1 6):

[Menalcas]
Cur non, Mopse, boni quoniam conuenimus ambo
tu calamos inflare leuis, ego dicere uersus,

hic corylis mixtas inter consedimus ulmos?
[Mopsus]
tu maior; tibi me est aequum parere, Menalca,
siue sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras, 5
siue antro potius succedimus.

Both passages begin with the polite suggestion *cur non*, name trees as possible places of shade, and give alternative possibilities of location. Virgil's pastoral piping is transformed into an equally rural symposium. The theme of the outdoor symposium in an idyllic location goes back to Lucretius 2.29 33:

cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
propter aquae riuum sub ramis arboris altae 30
non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant,
praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni
tempora conspergunt uiridantis floribus herbas.

There are also close links with other odes. The theme of the poem's second half, presenting symposium preparation as more important than more osten sibly serious topics, can be found as a poem opening in 3.19 (1 8):

Quantum distet ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori,
narras, et genus Aeaci,
et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:
quo Chium pretio cadum
mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
quo praebente domum et quota
Paelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

There are links too with 3.8, where Maecenas is likewise urged to forget political cares in the symposium with similar allusions to potential military threats to the various borders of the Roman state, a list which again includes the Cantabrians and Scythians (3.8.17 28):

mitte ciuilis super urbe curas:
occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
dissidet armis,
seruit Hispanae uetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena,
iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
cedere campis.
neglegens ne qua populus laboret,

parce priuatus nimium cauere et
dona praesentis cape laetus horae,
 linque seuera.

There the injunction is placed at the end of the poem after the sympotic preparations, neatly reversing the order here, where it comes first and precedes them.

The opening of 2.11 has been well imitated by two major poets in English, with neatly updated topical political allusions and stanzaic metres which look partly to the original, in Matthew Arnold's 'Horatian Echo' (1847; see further Vance 1997: 187):

Omit, omit, my simple friend,
Still to enquire how parties tend,
Or what we fix with foreign powers.
If France and we are really friends,
And what the Russian Czar intends,
 Is no concern of ours.

and in W. H. Auden's 'Out on the lawn I lie in bed' (1933; see further Talbot 2005):

And, gentle, do not care to know,
Where Poland draws her Eastern bow,
 What violence is done;
Nor ask what doubtful act allows
Our freedom in this English house,
 Our picnics in the sun.

Select bibliography

Gagliardi 1986: 40 6; Sutherland 2002: 118 25; Sutherland 2005; Nadeau 2008: 229 36.

1 2 Quid ... **cogitet:** the verb is found only here in H., and perhaps suggests evil plans; cf. Juv. 13.209 *scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum.* For the strategy of beginning an ode with an interrogative introducing an indirect question followed by a postponed main clause, dramatically inverting the normal prose sequence, see 3.19.1 (cited above) *quantum distet*, 4.14.1 5 *quae cura* ... *aeternet* (for interrogative beginnings in gen eral cf. 2.17.1 n.). **bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes:** the adjective occurs again in H. only at 3.3.57; it has a flavour of historiography (4x in Caesar, 3x in Sallust, 12x in Livy: cf. *TLL* II.1809.58 62), as do the collective singulars *Cantaber* and *Scythes* (see 2.6.2 n.). *Scythes* is a Greek first declen sion form. **Hirpine Quincti:** the adjective could technically be a *cognomen*

(cf. *Ep.* 1.2.1 *Maxime Lolli* for placing the *cognomen* before *nomen* in a poetic address), but is clearly a central Italian ethnic label (see introduction above). This contrasts with the distant Cantabrians and Scythians, reinfor cing the key idea that Quinctius should not worry about matters so far away since his own tribe and concerns are closer at hand (note how the two Italian locators, *Hirpine* and *Hadria*, balance the foreign pair *Cantaber* and *Scythes*). For the pointed use of the ethnic cf. Catull. 12.1 *Marrucine Asini*, there (but not here) implying backwoods rusticity (see Quinn 1970: 130).

2 3 Hadria | diuisus obiecto: *Hadria* and *Hirpine* neatly enclose the second line in an alliterating pair of proper names, while the line division and enjambment here reflects the literal meaning of natural separation in *diuisus*, as (doubly) at 1.3.21 3 *nequiquam deus abscidit* | *prudens Oceano dissociabili* | *terras*. The Adriatic is seen as the eastern boundary of Italy (looking towards the Scythians) and as an effective defensive barrier given its traditionally stormy nature (cf. 1.33.15 *fretis acrior Hadriae*, 3.3.5 *inquieti . . . Hadriae*, 3.9.22 3 *improbo* | *iracundior Hadria*), another reason for Quinctius not to worry about foreign enemies from whom he is so firmly separated (*diuisus*).

3 4 remittas | quaerere: for the infinitive after *remittere* cf. *OLD* s.v. 10c and those after *mittere* (1.38.3 *mitte sectari*) and *omittere* (3.29.11 *omitte mirari*), all relatively colloquial usages. For the Epicurean injunction to maintain peace of mind by not worrying about the imponderable future cf. 1.9.13 *quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere*, 1.11.1 2 *tu ne quaesieris . . . quem mihi, quem tibi* | *finem di dederint.* **nec trepides** 'do not excite yourself over'; the phrase suggests the Epicurean watchword ἀταραξία, 'freedom from disturbance', and the element of fear in *trepides* looks back to the putative perils of lines 1 3. **in usum:** the preposition indicates the object of an emotional attitude, usually towards a person (*CS* 52 *iacentem lenis in hostem, OLD* s.v. 11a), but here towards a non personal object; *usus* means 'basic needs, requirements', i.e. daily sustenance (*OLD* s.v. 13a). Both the phrasing and the idea (mortal wants are little and easily satisfied) echo Lucr. 6.9 10 *ad uictum quae flagitat usus* | *omnia iam ferme mortalibus esse parata*, appropri ately in this strongly Epicurean context.

5 poscentis aeui pauca: *poscentis . . . pauca* perhaps translates the Greek compound adjective ὀλιγοδεής, 'requiring little', used in philosophical contexts before and after H. (Posidon. fr.267 Kidd, M. Aurelius 1.5.2, 5.5.2); for *pauca* of the modest material needs of the Epicurean cf. Lucr. 2.20. *aeui* points to the undemanding middle age of H. and his addressee now youth is over, looking to the next sentence; for H.'s few wants in the *Odes* cf. e.g. 1.31.15 20, 3.1.45 8, and for the reduced desires of middle age cf. e.g. 2.4.21 4, 4.1.1 8. The strong pause after *pauca*, splitting the

choriambic element after the seventh syllable, is unparalleled at this point in H.'s Alcaic hendecasyllables. **fugit retro:** the verb is in the gnomic present tense, as in the similar lament at *Epod.* 17.21 *fugit iuuentas et uerecundus color.* The image is one of rapid travel leaving youth behind; for the speedy onward movement of time cf. 2.14.1 2 *fugaces* . . . | *labuntur anni* and 2.5.13 16 n., and for the fleeting nature of youth cf. e.g. Anacreon 395 *PMG* (cited in introduction above).

6 leuis iuuentas et decor: for *leuis* of the smooth skin of youth cf. 4.6.28 *leuis Agyieu, OLD* s.v. 2, and for *iuuentas* as the high style alternative form for *iuuentus* see Watson on *Epod.* 17.21; H. in fact generally uses *iuuentas/iuuenta* for the idea as here, *iuuentus* for the collective noun = *iuuenes* (the only exceptions are collective *iuuenta* at 3.2.15 and *CS* 45). *decor* is used only here in H. (poets tend to favour the more select *decus*).

6 8 arida | . . . | canitie: *aridus* suggests the contrast of dry, withered age with the preceding smooth skin of youth (*leuis*). The poetic noun *canities* (see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.30) is found in H. only here and at 1.9.17 *donec canities abest,* both in contexts lamenting ageing as a barrier to love, and covers both 'old age' and 'white hair' in both passages (*OLD* s.v. 3c). **pellente lasciuos amores:** *pellente* is in line initial position immedi ately below its noun *canitie* (for the technique cf. 2.8.1 2 n.); it suggests both the deterrent effect of an ageing physique for potential lovers (for *amores* in this concrete sense cf. *OLD* s.v. 1c; this idea is helped by *lasciuus,* used of erotically inclined people or animals), and the dispelling of thoughts of love by the ageing person (for *amores* in the sense of 'feelings of love' cf. 2.9.10 12 n.). This idea seems to be amusingly reversed in the invitation to the *scortum* Lyde in the final stanza. **facilemque somnum:** cf. 3.21.4 *facilem* . . . *somnum*; for the disturbed sleep patterns of old age see Statius *Theb.* 1. 433 (the aged king Adrastus) *pendebat somno iam deteriore senectus.* The phrase provides a pointed contrast and balance with *lasciuos amores* (lively/relaxed, erotic activity/sleep).

9 non semper: repeats the opening words of 2.9 (2.9.1 n.) and its funda mental idea that mortal life is always subject to change.

9 10 floribus est honor | uernis: *honor* here has its fundamental physical sense of 'beauty' (see Watson on *Epod.* 17.21). The brief life of attractive spring flowers is an established topos (cf. Tibullus 1.4.29 *quam cito purpur eos deperdit terra colores,* with K. F. Smith's note). The flower imagery picks up the vegetative idea of withering in *arida* (6).

10 11 neque uno . . . nitet | uultu: *uultus* and *nitere* can apply both to humans (for *nitere* of shining personal beauty cf. *OLD* s.v. 3b) and to

personified astral bodies (cf. Virg. *G.* 1.452 *ipsius* [sc.*solis*] *in uultu*, Lucr. 5.705 *luna potest* ... *nitere*). For the poetic theme of the moon's changing phases cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.195 6 *nec par aut eadem nocturnae forma Dianae* | *esse potest umquam semperque hodierna sequente*, Manil.1.187 *lunaque per totidem luces mutetur et orbes*, for the astronomical lore of lunar phases in classical times see Pease on Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.50, and for the comparison with the mutability of human fortune cf. Soph.fr.871 Radt (with further parallels in Radt 1977: 565). **luna rubens:** for the conceit of the moon's blush see Virg. *G.* 1.431 *uento semper rubet aurea Phoebe* and Prop. 1.10.7 8 *quamuis* ... | *Luna ruberet* (with further material in Fedeli's note), both recent publications for H. Here it is consistent with the personification of *nitet* and *uultu.*

11 12 quid: for a similar rhetorical question implying the futility of brief human life cf. 2.16.17 18 *quid breui fortes iaculamur aeuo* | *multa?* **aeternis** ... **consiliis** 'strategies for all time', rhetorical exaggeration and pointed con trast with the moon's frequent changes; for the typically Epicurean exhorta tion to make no long term plans owing to life's brevity and mutability cf. 1.4.15 *uitae summa breuis spem nos uetat incohare longam* with N H's note. *consiliis* is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (to be taken jointly) with *minorem* (ablative of compar ison: 'your mind that is not up to eternal plans') and *fatigas* (instrumental ablative: 'weary your mind with eternal plans'). **animum fatigas** closely echoes Lucretius' argument that the soul is material and can be exhausted just like the body by worrying about the future; cf. Lucr. 3.824 6 *praeter enim quam quod morbis cum corporis aegret,* | *aduenit id quod eam* (sc. *animam*) *de rebus saepe futuris* | *macerat inque metu male habet curisque fatigat.*

13 cur non: begins a sequence of three lively questions in lines 13 22, which speed up the pace of the poem and introduce more cheerful topics. It also picks up the opening words of Virgil's *Eclogue* 5 (see introduction above).

13 14 sub alta uel platano uel hac | pinu: the alternative possibilities of shade for rest in the country derives from Virg. *E.* 5.1 6 (quoted in introduction above; the deictic *hac* (used again unusually of trees at 2.14.22; see n. there) picks up Virgil's *hic* (5.3). The pine tree is generally a common feature of the landscape of the *Eclogues* (1.38, 7.21, 8.22) and is prominently mentioned as a source of shade in the opening poem of Virgil's pastoral model Theocritus (1.1; cf. also 3.38). The lofty plane tree, on the other hand, as elsewhere in classical literature (see Trapp 1990), suggests the famous opening location of Plato's *Phaedrus* in its shade (Plat. *Phaedr.* 229a ὁρᾷς οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον; 'do you see that . . . very lofty plane?'; the demonstrative adjective ἐκείνην, 'that', may suggest *hac* here). One link with the Platonic dialogue is love, the main subject of the *Phaedrus* and clearly an intended practical part of this

symposium with its *scortum* (21); H.'s down to earth Epicurean approach contrasts nicely with Plato's famous elevated characterisation of love as divine madness. As well as their literary symbolism, these trees suggest that the poem is set in a rural location (see introduction above); H.'s Sabine villa had a pine tree close by (3.22.5 *imminens uillae . . . pinus*), just as plane trees commonly provided shade at country villas (Cic. *De or.* 1.28, N H on 2.15.4). **iacentes** 'reclining' in Roman fashion for an outdoor sympo sium, as at 2.3.6 8 *seu te in remote gramine per dies | festos reclinaris bearis | interior nota Falerni*; see also Lucr. 2.29 *prostrati in gramine molli*, a model here (see introduction above). **sic temere** 'just as we are at random', i.e. with no elaborate preparation; the phrase (found again only at *Bell. Alex.* 1.20.3 and Sen. *Phaed.* 393, the latter clearly imitating H.) is a Latinisation of the Greek οὕτως εἰκῇ (see Dodds on Plat. *Gorg.* 506d).

14 15 et rosa | canos odorati capillos: for the collective singular *rosa* see N H on 1.5.1, and for the Greek accusative of respect *capillos* ('scented as to our grey hair with the rose'), common after past participles in H. and other Latin poets, see Bo 1960: 122 and Harrison 1991: 290 1. Aromatic rose garlands are a familiar feature of the Horatian symposium (1.36.15, 1.38.3, 2.3.14, 3.15.15, 3.29.3), recalling the *Anacreontea* (6.2, 8.7 8, 32.14, 44.3, 51.7 8). *canos* picks up *canities* (8) and confirms the middle age of the two men.

16 dum licet: repeated at 4.12.26 in a similar Epicurean style exhortation to enjoy life while one can, an idea frequent in the *Odes* (see 1.9.15 17, 2.3.13 16, N H on 1.9.16 and 17). **Assyriaque nardo:** the oil of the aromatic plant spikenard, found in the near East; for its use as an unguent at Rome see Lucr. 2.848, Varro *Men.* 480, Prop. 4.7.32, and for 'Assyrian' = 'Syrian' in Latin poetry cf. Catull. 68.144 and Virg. *E.* 4.25 with Clausen's note.

17 potamus uncti: the isolation of the two words in enjambment into the next stanza perhaps points to some play between the varied pleasurable uses of liquids in drinking wine and being anointed with oil. Some com mentators think that *uncti* goes with *capillos* as well as *nardo*, but the sentence reads better with two separate and balancing phrases, *rosa* being governed by *odorati* and *nardo* by *uncti*. In any case the head is anointed for the symposium as at 2.7.7 8.

17 18 dissipat Euhius | curas edacis: for the topos of the care dispelling quality of wine cf. 1.18.3 4 *neque | mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines*, with N H's note; both this idea and the metaphor of consuming care go back to Alcaeus, an appropriate link for H. Cf. Alcaeus 346.5 V. οἶνον . . . λαθικάδεον, 'wine that brings forgetfulness of cares', 70.10 V. τὰς θυμοβόρω λύας, 'the dissension which consumes the heart', while the Bacchic title of *Euhius*, found only here and 1.18.9 in H. and deriving from the Bacchic cry

εὐοῖ (Eur. *Ba.* 141; cf. 2.19.7 *euhoe*), is first found as Greek Εὔϊος in Attic tragedy (Soph. *OT* 212, *Ant.* 965, Eur. *Ba.* 158, 414) and in a possibly sympotic lyric fragment of unclear date cited by Plutarch (*PMG* Adespota 85.1). **quis puer** 'which slave boy', the παῖς of Greek sympotic prepara tions (cf. e.g. Anacreon 356.1, 396.1). **ocius** 'pretty quickly', a colloquial use of the comparative adverb, as often in contexts of exhorting action; cf. *S.* 2.7.34 *nemon oleum fert ocius?*, *TLL* IX.415.1 4.

19 20 restinguet ardentis Falerni | pocula: the conceit is that the un diluted wine is like a fire which needs dousing with water. For wine as fire cf. *Epod.* 11.14 *feruidiore mero, S.* 2.8.38, Eur. *Alc.* 758 9; with *ardentis Falerni* (sc.*uini*) *pocula* cf. 1.1.19 *ueteris pocula Massici*, 1.7.21 *innocentis pocula Lesbii*, and for high quality Falernian wine see 2.6.19 20 n.

20 praetereunte lympha: from the stream close at hand, another indica tion of outdoor location, and a further element alongside trees and shade of the standard pastoral/rustic *locus amoenus*; cf. 2.3.9 12, Theocr. 1.1 2. For *lympha* = 'water' (poetic) see N H on 2.3.12.

21 quis: *puer* is understood again after line 18 *quis puer.* **deuium scortum:** commentators since Porphyrio have suggested that Lyde is a 'tart out of the normal run' as a selective, high class call girl, but *deuius* always means 'wandering from a normal path', and the point seems to be that the symposium is located away from her usual professional beat (*meretrices* were generally to be found in the city centre, e.g. at the theatre of Pompey: Catull. 55.6 7, Prop. 2.32.11 12); the adjective is emphatically placed near the head of the sentence and is in effect proleptic ('who will induce Lyde to make an exceptional journey from her home?'). The colloquial *scortum* (only here and *Ep.* 1.18.34 in H.) suits the familiar diction in this context; it is the normal word for a prostitute in Roman comedy (44x in Plautus), and originally meant an animal's hide (Var. *LL* 7.84, Maltby 1991: 552; the metaphor is perhaps 'skin for sale'). **eliciet** 'seek out' (used of a choice wine cask at 4.2.17). Like the *puellae* of the Roman elegists, Lyde is presented as having some choice and indepen dence about her clients, and needs to receive an appropriately attractive request. In real life this was no doubt accompanied by payment, as usual unmentioned in poetry (Griffin 1985: 112 14).

22 Lyden: a name of a similar character in 3.28 (another symposiastic setting) and of a girl resisting the poet's advances in 3.11. It is a slave name, suggesting a freedwoman, and an ethnic, suggesting Asiatic origins in Lydia (modern W Turkey), but in H.'s odes *Lyde* and *Lydia* (always with long first vowel) perhaps also play on *ludus* and *ludere*, the erotic game of love (cf. *Ep.* 1.14.36 *nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum*); these are 'play girls' who are characters in erotic scenarios. **eburna** . . . **cum lyra:** refers to

ivory facings decorating a lyre, as in the 'ivory lyre' mentioned in an anonymous Greek lyric fragment (*PMG* 900.1), and in the remains of a Greek lyre of the Mycenean period (Maas and Snyder 1989: 7). *meretrices* in H. are represented elsewhere as lyre players (1.17.18, 3.28.11), like the *puellae* of elegy (Prop. 1.2.27 8, 1.3.42, 2.1.9, 2.3.19 20, Ov. *Am.* 2.11.32); Ov. *Ars* 3.319 26 suggests that lyre playing was indeed a significant skill for such women in Rome.

22 3 dic age . . . **maturet:** for another summons to a *meretrix* using similar peremptory language cf. 3.14.21 2 *dic et argutae properet Neaerae | murreum nodo cohibere crinem*; both show the colloquial use of the straight subjunctive after *dico* giving the content of the statement (cf. 1.7.60 *dic ad cenam ueniat, OLD* s.v. 2c), and for the similarly lively *dic age* cf. 1.32.3, 3.4.1, *S.*2.7.92; intransitive *maturare* is also a colloquial usage (*OLD* s.v. 3).

23 4 in comptum Lacaenae | more comam religata nodum: *incomptum, comas* and *comae* are also transmitted in the manuscripts. *Incomptum* might suit a swift impromptu coiffure, but the point of this Spartan arrangement is that it is neat as well as practical (see below); the grammar of the sentence is also easier with *in* linking *religata* and *nodum* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.319, cited below). *comae* (favoured by N H) is likely to be the 'correction' of a line by line reader who thought that *more* needed a genitive in its own line rather than going with *Lacaenae* in the previous one; it would also involve a unique transference of *Lacaena,* originally a substantive, from describing a Spartan woman to designating one of her physical features. *comas* would match *capillos* in 15 as a plural, and would extend to the detail of number the clear balance of expression between the loose hairstyle of the men and the tight hairstyle of the woman. I favour the collec tive *comam* as H.'s references to the binding of hair by his erotic objects all use this singular: cf. 1.5.4 *cui flauam religas comam,* 3.14.22 *murreum nodo cohibere crinem, Epod.* 11.28 *aut teretis pueri longam renodantis comam. Comam* would be a Greek accusative of respect here, echoing that in the balancing coiffure at 15 *canos odorati capillos* (15 n.): 'bound as to her hair into a neat knot in the manner of a Spartan girl'. Torrentius' *incomptam* ... *comam religata nodo* has been favoured by some (Bentley, Syndikus, Brink 1971: 25), but *nodo* in final empha tic position seems odd without a complement. **Lacaenae:** the reputation of Spartan women for non elaborate coiffure is mentioned at Prop. 3.14.28; and a Spartan 'bun' seems to underlie the hair of the huntress Atalanta at Ov. *Met.* 8.319 *crinis erat simplex, nodum collectus in unum* (for the *nodus* in Roman female coiffure in general see Gibson on Ov. *Ars* 3.139 40). A strigil of the 4th or 3rd century BCE from Palestrina is decorated with a woman with a hair bun who may evoke Spartan female athletics (plate 43 in Harris 1972), and the

Spartan Helen is shown with a similar coiffure on an Attic red figure vase of the fifth century BCE (*LIMC* IV s.v. *Helene* 382). Lyde's Spartan appearance may indeed recall the attractions of the similarly promiscu ous Helen, the *Lacaena* par excellence (so described at Prop. 2.15.13). Like 2.5, 2.12 and other Horatian erotic odes, the poem ends with a lingering vignette focussing on an attractive young person (2.5.21 4 n.).

12 SUMMARY

You would not like lyric versions of epic wars from old Roman history or Greek mythology, Maecenas, and you yourself would celebrate the victories of Augustus better in prose history than I would in lyric verse (1 12). My poetry is dominated by the beautiful Licymnia (13 20): in my position, you yourself would not exchange the riches of the East for her charms (21 8).

Metre

Second Asclepiad (see Introduction, section 7).

Maecenas, Horace's key friend and patron for more than a decade by the time of Book 2, is addressed twice in the book, here and in 2.17. This poem reflects their relationship of poet and literary patron, while 2.17 looks at the more personal bond between them, though in Roman culture it is often hard to separate the two ideas (see White 1993, and on the Maecenas odes in general see Santirocco 1984, Lyne 1995: 102 31). The poem presents Maecenas as suggesting Augustus' victories as suitable for celebration in the *Odes*; H. then counters with the recommendation that Maecenas should praise them in prose history and argues that the great wars of history and myth are not suitable for his lyric verse, thus amusingly turning the tables on the man who is presented as suggesting poetic topics for Virgil (*G.* 3.41) and Propertius (3.9) as well as H. This is the same position as that taken up in 1.6, where, in a similar *recusatio* (i.e. polite refusal of an unsuitable poetic subject: for a useful account of this in H. see Davis 1991: 28 77), H. proposes Varius rather than himself to praise Agrippa. Elsewhere he takes a different view. He sees the campaigns of Augustus as a suitable potential topic for himself and the elegist Valgius in 2.9, and for himself in 3.25; by the time of *Odes* 4, H. could praise the recent victories of the *princeps*' stepsons Drusus and Tiberius in some detail (4.4, 4.14).

The literary tradition of the *recusatio* (see Wimmel 1960) goes back at least to the preface of Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr.1 Pf.), and here, as at *S.* 1.10.31 5 (cf. Harrison 2007b: 76), H. clearly picks up its most prominent recent use in Virgil's *Eclogues* a decade or so earlier (6.3 5):

cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
uellit et admonuit : 'pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen'.

In both cases, a divine figure (here the Muse: 13 n.) intervenes to ensure that the poet sticks to his natural type of writing. The poet's pose is highly rhetorical, but the deployment of the topic by Propertius (e.g. 2.1) as well as H. and Virgil suggests that there was some pressure to produce poetry on contemporary campaigns, a highly traditional subject in Roman poetry.

This poem seems to be written not long after the *princeps*' triumph of 28 BCE, evoked in the picture of captive kings in lines 11 12; the *princeps*' naming as Caesar rather than Augustus in line 10 might suggest a date before he received that name in January 27.

Structurally, the ode turns in the middle. In the central stanza of the seven we find an explicit shift from the literary work of others to that which engages the poet himself (13 16), marked by the emphatically located pronoun *me* at the start of the next stanza; we may compare 1.1.29 30, where an initial *me* again marks a turn to the poet himself (for this technique in the middle of odes see Harrison 2004). The rest of the ode then concerns the erotic delights of Licymnia, presented as material typical of Horatian lyric.

The topics represented as unsuitable for lyric in the first three stanzas are epic subjects, drawn both from the history of Roman epic and from Greek mythological poetry. It begins with Numantia (1): here H. is per haps recalling the elder Cato's campaigns in that general area in 195 BCE (Livy 34.12 15), very likely praised in the eleventh book of Ennius' *Annales* (Cic. *Arch.* 22, Skutsch 1985: 528 9). H. also alludes to the role played in Scipio Aemilianus' destruction of Numantia in 133 BCE by his fellow poet Lucilius, and in particular a line by the latter which seems to encourage an unidentified addressee (not the poet himself) to celebrate Scipio's achievement (620 Marx *facta Corneli cane*); H. may thus be repeat ing an earlier *recusatio* by Lucilius here. A Spanish campaign from history is an appropriately topical parallel for the period of *Odes* 2, where Augustus' campaigns against the Cantabrians (not far north of Numantia) are pro minent (see introduction to commentary on 2.6 above).

We then move to the Punic Wars as an epic topic: the mention of Hannibal (2) is likely to allude to Ennius' account of the Second Punic War in Books 7 9 of the *Annales* (Skutsch 1985: 366 8), while the picture of Punic blood in the Sicilian sea goes back to the great naval battles of the First Punic War, treated not by Ennius but in the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius. Here again there might be a more contemporary echo: just as Naevius had fought in the First Punic War, H. himself had very likely taken some part in the young Caesar's naval campaigns against Sextus Pompeius

which ended in the victory of Naulochus in 36 BCE (see 2.17.20 n.). Thus two of the three apparently antique epic topics evoked here have potential parallels in H.'s own time, reflecting by discreet historical analogies current, more sensitive subjects that Maecenas might request, the kind of subjects proposed by H. for Maecenas' own potential prose history in lines 9 12.

In the second stanza we find the subject of the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, an epic story already known to the writer of the *Odyssey* (21.296 302) and elaborated as an epic episode by Ovid (*Met.*12.210 530); a poem on the topic is ascribed, with no indication of metre or date, to Melesandrus of Miletus by Aelian (*VH* 11.2). H. here seems to be picking up the mention of the same episode in the recently issued *Georgics* of Virgil, a text often echoed in this book (see Introduction, section 4); cf. *G.* 2.455 7:

Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis
Centauros leto domuit, Rhoecumque Pholumque
et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.

A similar Virgilian passage praising Hercules as subduer of both Centaurs and Lapiths (*A.* 8. 293 5) must have some connection with lines 5 6 (see 7 n.). Alongside this is the equally epic tale of Hercules' involvement in the Gigantomachy (see Bernabé 1996: 8 11 for its currency in early Greek epic). It is regularly found as an unpalatable subject in rhetorical refusals to write epic (see Innes 1979); particularly significant for this poem is the use of the same theme in Propertius 2.1 (cf. 2.1.19 20, 39), another *recusatio* addressed to Maecenas and the opening poem to a book which may well have been published shortly before (see Lyne 2007: 256). It has been suggested that both these elements could have contemporary allegorical colour (see N H): the drunkenness of the Centaurs could allude to Antony's alleged alcoholic excesses, while Hercules the restorer of order against monsters could reflect Augustus at Actium (for Augustus as parallel to Hercules cf. e.g. 3.3.9, 3.14.1; for Actium as Gigantomachic see Hardie 1986: 97 109). This is not unlikely given that the long past wars of the first stanza may also parallel recent events (see above). It is notable that epic stories about the Centaurs and the Giants are both dismissed as fabrications in a famous passage of Xenophanes (fr. 1.21 2).

The third stanza turns to Maecenas. H.'s suggestion that Maecenas is more likely to write about Augustus' triumphs in prose than H. is to do the same in lyric verse is no doubt partly ironic in this rhetorical context (see 10 n.), but Maecenas was credited with several (non historical) prose works (see Costa 2014), and may have written some kind of memoir which mentioned the young Caesar at the battle of Philippi (Pliny *NH* 7.148; see Beagon 2005: 346 7). The picture of defeated kings led in procession in Rome parallels Virgil's description of the conquered tribes

in Augustus' triple triumph of 29 BCE (*A.* 8. 714 28; see 11 12 n.), and alludes to the many client kings who fought with Antony at Actium; perhaps the implication is that Maecenas can produce a prose version of the triumphal passage in the *Aeneid*, possibly written by this date and known to both H. and Maecenas before publication.

The fourth and central stanza turns to the poet himself with the emphatic initial *me* (see above). H.'s interest in Licymnia, which dominates the remainder of the poem, stresses the centrality of erotic relationships in his lyric world (see Ancona 1994), pointing firmly to love rather than war as a topic. Since Ps. Acro (on *S.* 1.2.64), commentators have raised the idea that Licymnia could represent a real person, and in particular Maecenas' wife Terentia, since such pseudonyms were often thought to be metrically equivalent (see Apuleius *Apol.* 10.3). This seems fundamentally unlikely (see e.g. Davis 1975, Syme 1986: 390, Lyne 1995: 104): H.'s *puellae* elsewhere cannot plausibly be linked with real persons, and though it might be a compliment to Maecenas for H. to claim that he admires his friend's wife, H.'s further assertion of her requited love for him (15 16) would be very odd reading for Maecenas as husband. When H. implies that Maecenas too values Licymnia very highly (21 8), he is surely suggesting their shared good taste in attractive women rather than his friend's relationship with his own wife.

Licymnia is found in Virgil as the name of the slave mistress of a Lydian king (*A.* 9.546), and it is also the proper adjective deriving from Licymna, the citadel of Tiryns (Statius *Theb.* 7.741, Strabo 8.6.11). This gives the name 'Licymnia' a Hellenising/Asiatic/non elite colour, and makes it suitable for a *hetaira*; it has also been suggested that it has Etruscan links (for this and further possible derivations and etymologies see N H). It is worth noting that minor Greek toponyms are found as names for prostitutes in Pompeian inscriptions (e.g. Libanis, Nicopolis or Zmyrina): see the list in McGinn 2004: 296 302, and for a fuller list of Greek *hetaira* names, which adds further similar toponyms, e.g. Cyrene, Megara, Nysa, Sinope, Scione, see K. Schneider in *RE* 8.1359 70.

The final three stanzas focus firmly on Licymnia, who is seen as young and attractive enough to join the (more respectable) young girls who worship Diana in Rome, and on the two male friends' mutual appreciation of her allure. There is something of a cosy complicity in the two males savouring the attractions of an erotic professional, not wholly comfortable for a post feminist age (cf. Oliensis 2007), and the matching of Licymnia's charms with the traditional wealth of the East (21 4) reminds us that in the end this is a person for hire. Here there is also an implicit suggestion that the riches to be gained by conquest (and to be celebrated in epic) are inferior to the (lyric) enjoyment of a beautiful woman, thus reinforcing the *recusatio* of the poem's first half: allusions to Persia/Parthia (21 n.) and to Arabia (24 n.) point to the contemporary sphere of actual or potential

military campaigns. The final picture of Licymnia receiving or denying kisses and her capricious attitude to love (25 8), matching that of the elegiac *puella*, perhaps undermines the poet's previous assertion of mutual affection, but also suggests why she can be presented as exercising such erotic power by her unpredictability. The poem ends with a striking vign ette of Licymnia's flirtatious behaviour, lingering in fascination on an erotic object of the poet's interest as in 2.5.21 4 (see n. there).

Select bibliography

Davis 1975; Santirocco 1980; Lyne 1995: 102 6; Byrne 2000; Sutherland 2002: 125 30; Sutherland 2005; Oliensis 2007; Nadeau 2008: 237 59.

1 Nolis: two other Horatian odes begin with a second person verb (1.9 *uides*, 1.23 *uitas*), an artificial word order in Latin which immediately involves the addressee, here creating some suspense about the latter's identity given Maecenas' name first appears in line 11. **longa** ... **bella:** the poet uses the full range of the adjective's meanings here. Numantia was a long time ago, a long way away and a long running theatre of military operations (the plural *bella* suggests the regular Roman wars in this far off area of N. Spain between Cato's campaigns in 195 BCE and Numantia's destruction in 133 BCE by Scipio Aemilianus), but for H. such wars are the topics of the lengthy genre of epic rather than the briefer lyric (for epic as the genre for war see e.g. 1.6.1 12, for the length of epic cf. *AP* 360 *operi longo*, of Homer).

2 durum: *dirum* is a medieval variant and has some attractions given 3.6.36 *Hannibalemque dirum* (see N R there and N H here), but *durum* seems prefer able here given the polar contrast with *mollibus* in the next line: Hannibal can be seen both as tough and as enduring given his life long struggle with Rome (cf. Fronto *Ep. ad Ver.* 2.20 p.128.19 van der Hout *Hannibalis duritia*). **Siculum mare:** a location which evokes both the historic Punic wars and recent cam paigns against Sextus Pompeius see introduction above.

3 Poeno purpureum sanguine: both sea and blood can be described as crimson in Greek and Roman poetry (see N H here); the juxtaposition *Poeno purpureum* suggests that *Poenus* here plays on *puniceus*, 'crimson' (cf. Maltby 1991: 518), and its emphatic alliteration might look back to earlier Latin verse such as the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius to which H. probably alludes here (see introduction; cf. Ennius *Ann.* 310 Sk. *perculsi pectora Poeni*). Blood stained waves are a topos of ancient sea battle narrative since Salamis; see 2.1.34 5 n.

3 4 mollibus | ... **modis:** *mollis* suits the 'softer' world of erotic lyric (cf. 2.7.19 n.), and contrasts neatly with 2 *durum*, while the alliterating *modis* points both to musical measures (*OLD* s.v. 8) and spatial limits

(*OLD* s.v. 4), the latter appropriate to the relative brevity of lyric. **aptari:** the passive is diplomatic, distancing Maecenas from any possible request to H. For a similar expression (probably postdating this poem) see Prop. 3.3.35 6 *carmina nervis | aptat.* In both cases the verb plays on the physical 'fitting' of strings to the lyre as well as pointing to the standard literary critical position in post Aristotelian antiquity that the poetic subject should 'fit' the generic associations of its metre (see Harrison 2007b: 4 8). **citharae:** the obviously Greek word (cf. 2.10.12 n.) suggests that H.'s Hellenising lyric is culturally different from the Roman tradition of military epic just evoked.

5 saeuos Lapithas: the adjective contrasts both with the earlier *mollibus* (3) and the later *dulces* (13), again stressing violent material inappropriate for H.'s lyric, but also pointing to the 'barbarian' status of the Lapiths, distant inhabitants of the wild mountains of Thessaly (cf. 3.10.2 for a similar use of *saeuus*) and 'uncivilised' disturbers of commensality (for this see below and e.g. Putnam 1990b). **nimium mero:** a rare and prosaic construction of this adjective with the ablative (*OLD* s.v. 2b, 3c), a euphemistic under statement for the celebrated drunken brawl of the Lapiths and Centaurs (see introduction above). Here its exclusion from H.'s lyric reflects its exemplary status as a violation of the proper restraint of Epicurean sym posiastic celebration (stressed at 1.18.7 9).

6 Hylaeum: a famous centaur, picked up from Virg. *G.* 2.457 (see intro duction above); here his name (meaning 'from the woods', Greek *hylaios*) may symbolise his lack of civilisation. **domitosque Herculea manu:** an elevated epic phrase, both in the idea of death at the hands of a great hero (see Virg. *A.*10.830 *Aeneae magni dextra cadis* with Harrison's note), and in the adjective for genitive *Herculea* (see Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.156 7). Hercules is also presented as the subduer of both Lapiths and Centaurs as well as the Giants in some sources. Cf. Virg. *A.* 8.293 5 (hymn to Hercules), echoed here (or *vice versa*) given the verbal and thematic links: *tu nubigenas, inuicte, bimembris | Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas | prodigia et uastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem.*

7 Telluris iuuenes 'warrior sons of Earth'; for Earth as mother of the Giants cf. 3.4.73 (where she is *Terra*; here the more poetic *Tellus* is used for the divine personification, cf. 2.1.26 7 n., *OLD* s.v. 2) and Hesiod *Theog.* 184 5 with West's note. *iuuenis* here seems to imitate the Greek poetic usage of *koros/kouros* in meaning both 'son' as well as 'young man' (LSJ s.v. 2), alongside appropriately indicating men of fighting age (*OLD* s. v. 1b). **unde** = *a quibus*, an archaic and poetic usage (cf. N H on 1.12.7).

8 fulgens . . . **domus:** for the shining home of the gods cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.532 αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου, 'shining Olympus', and Virg. *A.* 10.3 *sideream* . . .

sedem with Harrison's note. **contremuit:** for the trembling of the house of the gods (there from lightning not fear) cf. Ennius *Ann.* 554 Sk. *contremuit templum magnum Iouis altitonantis*, and for the fear caused in the gods by the giants see 3.4.49 50 with N R's note, *Il.* 1.406.

9 Saturni ueteris: *ueteris* here looks both to the supposed antiquity (*OLD* s. v. 3) of these events set near the beginning of the universe's history and to Saturn as the former (*OLD* s.v. 6) ruler of the cosmos before Jupiter. **tuque:** as editors have noted, *que* is difficult here: it should really express a parallel between *tu* and another previously mentioned person, whereas Maecenas is the subject of both sentences in the poem so far. It can only really be explained here as expressing an implicit contrast between H.'s potential work and that of Maecenas, but it is hard to parallel in this sense. The problem would be solved by reading *tu ipse*, which marks the appropriate contrast well; for the phrase and elision cf. 1.20.2 *ego ipse*, again contrasting H. and Maecenas. *tu* itself is not otherwise elided in the *Odes*, but it is at *Ep.* 1.14.41 *horum tu in numerum*, and such an elision (common in Catullus) might have an archaic flavour here (cf. Ennius *Trag.* 285 J *te ipsum hoc* = spondee). *tu* would then begin a new sentence in mid verse as it does at 1.14.15, with a strong sense break at the caesura of the asclepiad as at 1.15.26, 1.24.2, 3.16.18, providing an appropriate contrast for *me* in 13, setting Maecenas' potential prose against H.'s actual verse.

9 10 pedestribus ... **historiis:** *pedester* here refers both to 'pedestrian', plodding prose rather than 'winged', inspired verse (*OLD* s.v. 3a) and to the infantry (*OLD* s.v. 4) involved in the campaigns recounted.

10 11 dices ... **melius** 'you will be a more fitting narrator of'; for this compressed use of *melius* cf. N H on 1.2.22, Brink on *AP* 40. The verb *dicere* is here used of prose and contrasts with H.'s potential poetry, though it can allude to singing/reciting verse elsewhere (e.g. 13 below, N H on 1.21.1, *OLD* s.v. 7b). **proelia Caesaris:** picks up *bella* ... *Numantiae* (1); both are for H. subjects unsuitable for lyric. *Caesaris* here (*Augusti* may not yet be available: see introduction above) perhaps reminds the reader of Julius Caesar's campaigns a generation before and his own prose account of them, implying that the *princeps* is a worthy successor to his adoptive father as commander, and pointing an ironic contrast with the famously unmili tary Maecenas as an unlikely chronicler of wars.

11 12 ductaque per uias | regum colla minacium: looks particularly to Augustus' recent triple triumph of 28 BCE, where an unprecedented nine kings or kings' children (*Res Gestae* 4.3; for their identities see Gurval 1995: 28 9) were paraded through the streets of Rome (*per uias*: for the phrase in a similar triumphal context see Prop. 4.6.66) on the traditional

triumphal route; such captives would often be on foot (see Östenberg 2009: 128–57), so that this image wittily picks up *pedestribus* (9). This subject matter of walking prisoners well suits 'pedestrian' prose. *regum* also looks back to the mention of kings in the *recusatio* of *Eclogue* 6 (see introduction), just as *proelia* picks up the same passage (cf. *E.* 6.3 *reges et proelia*). *Colla* (picked up by 26 *ceruicem*) points by synecdoche to the whole body, identifying the neck as submissive to dominant force (*OLD* s. v. 2d), while *minacium* suggests an empty defiance now rightly punished (cf. 2.7.11 n.).

13 me: a structural pivot in the poem (see introduction), turning at last to the poet; for *me* in this unusually emphatic position at the start of both stanza and sentence in the *Odes* cf. 2.17.13, 3.4.9.

13–14 dulces . . . | cantus: an implicit contrast with the cacophony of the events listed in 1–12. These are accusatives, objects of *dicere*. Singing to entertain men is characteristic of *hetairai*: cf. e.g. Tyndaris at 1.17.18–20, Ov. *Ars* 1.595–6. **dominae . . . Licymniae:** the term *domina* here picks up its key use in love elegy of the poet's dominating beloved (cf. e.g. Gallus fr. 1.6, Prop. 1.1.21, Tib. 1.1.46), suggesting that H.'s lyric is more like elegy than epic in its erotic aspect. For the *hetaira* name Licymnia see introduction (above). **Musa . . . | me uoluit:** the intervening deity ensures that the poet sticks to an appropriate topic, an established feature of the literary *recusatio*. The Muse appears in this role again at 1.6.10, Apollo in Callimachus (*Aetia* fr. 1 Pf.) and Virgil (*E.* 6), Quirinus at *S.* 1.10.31–5; for other references to interventions from the Muse in the *Odes* see 2.1.37, 3.3.70 (both at points where the poet is in danger of deviating from lyric). **dicere:** here clearly of lyric verse (see 10–11 n.).

14–15 lucidum | fulgentis oculos 'brightly shining eyes', indicating erotic desire (cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.721); for the adverbial accusative adjective *lucidum* (a Grecising poetic use) see N–H here and Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.55–6. **bene** goes with *fidum*, 'virtuously faithful', though separated from it (poetic hyperbaton), but also pointedly juxtaposed with *mutuis* (faithful because reciprocated).

15–16 mutuis | fidum pectus amoribus 'a heart faithful in our mutual passions' (cf. *Epod.* 15.10 *amore mutuo*); *amoribus* is ablative of circumstances not dative of the object of fidelity, as at Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.13 *rebus male fidus acerbis*, and the plural reinforces the idea of reciprocity here, while *fidum pectus* is a Lucretian collocation (5.864 *fido cum pectore*). The idea of faithful and requited love is an ideal often deployed (if seldom realised) in Latin elegiac love poetry (cf. *Epod.* 15.10 *amore mutuo* with Watson's note, N–R on 3.9.13–14).

17 nec . . . **dedecuit:** for the admiring litotes cf. 1.38.6 7 *neque te ministrum | dedecet myrtus.* The phrase seems to imply that some might not expect Licymnia to be a member of the group of virgins (this fits identifying her as a *hetaira*, see introduction). Dancing could be either virtuous in a reli gious context or a mark of non respectable status in the case of an entertai ner or courtesan (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 25.2, Prop.1.4.13, 2.3.17 18, Ov. *Ars* 1.596); the latter is surely more relevant for Licymnia. **ferre pedem choris** 'ply her foot in the dancing groups'; *ferre pedem* is a poetic usage (cf. Virg. *G.* 1.11), while *chorus* refers to traditional dancing groups, Greek *choroi* (cf. 1.4.5, 4.7.6), here, as in 1.21 and the *Carmen Saeculare*, performing in Roman ritual in honour of Diana.

18 certare ioco 'vie in banter', cf. 4.1.31 *certare . . . mero* (a young male parallel); for the playful banter involved in female dancing groups in antiquity see Alcman's First Partheneion (*PMG* 1).

18 19 dare bracchia | ludentem nitidis uirginibus 'stretch her arms to shining virgins as she plays'; for hand linking in female choric dancing see Alcman fr. 3.80 *PMG. ludentem* picks up *ioco* and likewise points to youthful playfulness (cf. 2.5.8 n.); *nitidis* suggests both young shining faces (*OLD* s.v. 3) and clean bright clothes (*OLD* s.v. 2).

19 20 sacro | Dianae celebris die 'on the sacred day of Diana honoured by crowds'. Diana's main festival was on 13th August, here imagined as cele brated in her thronged temple on the Aventine hill in Rome (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.884); for *celeber* of a deity surrounded by admiring festival throngs cf. Tib. 2.1.83 *celebrem cantata deum.* The scansion of *Dianae* with an initial long syllable is archaic, used by H. rarely for solemn ritual effect: cf. N H on 1.21.1.

21 num tu: the rhetorical question assuming agreement need not indicate that Maecenas too is Licymnia's lover, merely that he knows and appreciates her charms. **quae tenuit:** for *tenere* of ownership cf. *OLD* s.v. 11; the past tense points to ancient history, though there are again con temporary resonances (see below). **diues Achaemenes:** the supposed founder of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty of Cyrus the Great (Herodotus 3.75.1). His riches are a traditional feature of Eastern kings (see N H here), and in H. his name is associated with luxury products (3.1.44, *Epod.* 13.8). Given that the Parthians, the successors of the Persians, remained a military target throughout the 20s BCE (cf. e.g. 3.5.4 with N R, Seager 1980), there might here be a suggestion that warfare as well as wealth is worth sacrificing for Licymnia. The rejec tion of Eastern riches in general is a common topos in both Greek and Roman poetry, especially when they are rejected for love (see N H here); in H. such rejection is usually a mark of ethical modera tion (cf. 3.1.41 8).

22 pinguis Phrygiae: for the proverbially rich and fertile plains of Phrygia/ Anatolia cf. *Ep.* 1.3.3 *pingues Asiae campi*, Catull. 46.4 5, Cic. *Man.* 14. **Mygdonias opes:** an elegant variation on *pinguis Phrygiae* with very similar meaning. Mygdon was an early king of Phrygia (*Il.* 3.186), and the adjective *Mygdonius* (found in Hellenistic poetry: Moschus 2.98) is first used by H. in Latin (again at 3.16.41); as with *Achaemenes*, the foreign sounding form gives an exotic Eastern colour. The idea of oriental riches is again emphasised.

23 permutare: the commercial metaphor ('take in exchange': 3.1.47, *OLD* s.v. 3) again reminds the reader that Licymnia's services are for sale. **uelis:** picks up *nolis* (1), rhetorically stressing that both outcomes are equally undesirable. **crine Licymniae:** rhetorical exaggeration, 'a single lock of Licymnia's', a pointed contrast with the 'full houses' of Arabia (for *crinis* in this sense see *OLD* s.v. 1, and for the proverbial expression 'single hair'= 'minimal part' see Otto 1890: 74). For the name Licymnia see introduction above.

24 plenas aut Arabum domos: cf. 4.12.24 *plena diues ... in domo*; in both cases *plenus* means 'well stocked' (*OLD* s.v. 3). The supposedly rich habita tions of the Arabs were topical, both in poetry in the freshly published *Georgics* of Virgil (2.115 *Eoasque domos Arabum*) and in politics, anticipating perhapsthe expedition of Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt, to Arabia Felix in 26 25 BCE (cf. 1.29.1 2 *Icci, beatis nunc Arabum inuides | gazis, et acrem militiam paras* with N H, Gruen 1996: 148 51).

25 cum: some minor MSS have *dum*, but 'when' is better than 'while' in appreciating the magic moment of attraction.

25 6 flagrantia detorquet ad oscula | ceruicem 'she inclines her neck towards burning kisses': *flagrantia* is transferred from the 'burning' of the passionate lover (*OLD* s.v. 3) to his 'hot' kisses. This line does not have the usual caesura after the sixth syllable of the Asclepiad, but the prefix *de* can be thought of as separable by tmesis here; for other examples in Horatian lyric cf. Bo 1960: 83. *ceruicem* pointedly picks up *colla* (12), pointing to the preferability for H. of the erotic over the military use of the neck. **aut facili saeuitia negat** 'or refuses them with easily assumed cruelty' (*negat* governs *oscula*, not *cervicem*). For the oxymoron *facili saeuitia*, a favourite technique of H., cf. 2.6.18 n.; *saeuitia* in love (here teasingly feigned) is a typical feature of the *puella* of love elegy (cf. e.g. Prop. 1.3.18, Tib. 2.4.6).

27 quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi 'so that she enjoys them being stolen, more than if she asks': *poscente* is ablative of comparison after *magis* as at *S.* 2.8.17 *te magis appositis delectat* (cf. also *Ep.* 1.17.44 *plus poscente*), *gaudeat* a final subjunctive.

28 interdum rapere occupet 'and sometimes gets in first stealing them herself', parallel to the preceding clause (note the contrast *eripi/rapere*; for the picking up of a compound verb in its simple form as a poetic figure see Wills 1996: 438 43) and linked to it by asyndeton (an omitted connection which needs to be supplied in translation). For the construction of *occupare* with infinitive, something of a colloquial locution, see *OLD* s.v. 12. As often in H., the ode ends with an arresting visual vignette, here with erotic colour; cf. 2.5.21 4 n.

13 SUMMARY

He who planted you, evil tree, was wicked indeed, causing your fall on me as your owner (1 12). There are many expected and unex pected ways to die, varying according to one's lifestyle (13 20). How nearly I went to the underworld and saw Sappho and Alcaeus per forming their poetry and the monsters and sinners of Hell entranced by it (21 40).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

This is one of the few Horatian odes addressed to an inanimate object; the others are 1.3 (the ship carrying Virgil), 1.14 (the symbolic ship of state), 1.32 (the poet's lyre), 3.13 (the *fons Bandusiae*) and 3.21 (the wine jar). The 'autobiographical' narrative offered in this poem is paralleled in the *Odes* only at 3.4.9 28, where we hear of the poet's miraculous escape from danger as a child as well as again about the falling tree incident, which is there identified as one of the three critical perils of H.'s life, along with the battle of Philippi and exposure to drowning off Sicily (3.4.26 8): *non me Philippis versa acies retro,| deuota non extinxit arbor | nec Sicula Palinurus unda.* Though a lucky escape from a collapsing house was a traditional story told about H.'s lyric predecessor Simonides (fr. 510 *PMG*), the fact that the episode of the tree is mentioned repeatedly by H. suggests that it may have had a basis in reality, though the idea that he was almost killed (3.8.7 *prope funeratus*) by its fall on his head (2.17.27 *truncus illapsus cerebro*) may be an exaggeration, and his survival is fancifully represented as a matter of divine intervention, evoking the traditional protection of poets by the gods (see N H on 1.17.13). 2.17.25 30 claims that Mercury was instrumental in effecting H.'s escape, while 3.8 presents an annual thanksgiving for it on 1st March, suggesting that was the day of the incident. In which year it took place is unclear: the other two events of 3.4.26 8 (above) belong to the pre Actium period (42 and probably 36 BCE for the latter see N R on

3.4.28), but the falling tree apparently belongs to H.'s period as a land owner (10 *agro meo*, 12 *domini*), very likely on the Sabine estate (10 n.), and is thus probably post Actium. Schmidt (2002: 180) suggests a composition date of 33 BCE, but this seems perhaps too early given the general dating of the book to the mid 20s (see Introduction, section 1), though there is no other close indication of date in the poem (cf. 17 19 n.).

In structure, the poem falls into two clearly marked halves: 1 20 on the poet's narrow escape from the tree, a comic curse followed by moralising about the ever present possibility of dying, and 21 40 on what the poet would have seen had he in fact gone down to the under world. The first half is held together by elements of ring composition: the idea that death's destructive force is wielded against human communities is prominent in both the first and fifth stanzas (3 4 *nepotum* | *perniciem opprobriumque pagi*, 19 20 *leti* | *uis rapuit rapietque gentis*), while the first three stanzas are enclosed by addresses to the offending tree (1 *te*, 11 12 *te . . . te*), and *nepotum* (3) matches *parentis* (5) in expressing the shared anti familial and impious character of the tree and its planter.

This is one of a number of Horatian odes in which there is a clear thematic change in the middle and even an apparent false closure (see Harrison 2004); at line 20 the poem seems to be over, since the humorously exaggerated curse on the tree and reflections on death reach a natural conclusion, especially with the generalising force of *gentis* (20 n.). As in 2.5, this element of false closure is aided by the epigrammatic tradition on which the poem draws: 1 20 look back to two types of Greek epigram the dedicatory epigram recording or giving thanks for an escape from death (cf. esp. Bianor *AP* 9.259, on an escape from a collapsing house, as well as various examples in Book 6 of the *Greek Anthology*), and the sepulchral epigram, to which the apparently concluding moralising about the universal and sudden rapacity of death (13 20) looks back (for this theme see e.g. *AP* 7.335.6, 342.2, 452.2, 477.3 4, 545.4, 732.4). Poetic closure seems accom plished; as in the similar turn in *Odes* 1.28, we seem to have a complete epigram at the maximum length of twenty lines.

But the idea of death is then neatly deployed to continue the poem with the poet's potential tour of the underworld. This counterfactual fantasy reflects a strong interest in Book 2 in the theme of katabasis, perhaps stimulated by the recent publication of Virgil's katabasis of Orpheus in *Georgics* 4 (see 2.14.17 20, 2.19.29 32 and Introduction, section 4), spe cifically picked up here. *G.* 4.481 4 is a key model for lines 33 40:

quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti
Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus angues
Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora
atque Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis.

Multiple linguistic echoes are clear: 481 *quin* ~ 37 *quin*, 481 *stupuere* ~ 33 *stupens*, 482 3 *implexae crinibus angues* | *Eumenides* ~ 35 6 *intorti capillis* | *Eumenidum* ... *angues*. The list of infernal sinners in 37 40 also plainly draws on that given by Canidia in *Epodes* 17.65 9 (Tantalus, Prometheus, Sisyphus; see 37 n.); that dark poem is also echoed for other details (8 n., 21 n., 26 n.). Through its focus on H.'s Lesbian lyric models Sappho and Alcaeus as the key figures of the infernal domain, H.'s katabasis presents an appropriately lyric version of the Augustan poetic theme of the descrip tion of the underworld (in addition to *Georgics* 4 and *Aeneid* 6 see for this Tib. 1.3.57 64, Prop. 2.28.49 56, 4.7.55 70, Ovid *Am.* 2.6.49 62, and Houghton 2007), and allows the poet to engage in literary criticism (24 8); like 2.19, the poem ends with the appropriate picture of the under world stilled by poetic power.

The poem is coloured by various other literary traditions and allusions. The opening malediction on the originator of a feature objectionable to the poet picks up the recently published Tibullus 1.10 (soon after 27 BCE: Maltby 2002: 39 40), which begins with attacking the inventor of weapons and war (1.10.1 6), and the curse in general is a feature derived from a long tradition of Greek curse poetry (cf. Watson 1991: 152 8 for other Augustan versions); H. himself writes a comic curse on garlic at the start of *Epode* 3, drawing on an epigrammatic tradition (cf. *AP* 11.96, cursing bad food for its effects). The curse on the tree planter, likening him to a parricide, a guest murderer and a poisoner, can be seen as implicitly evoking particular mythological examples; the mention of 'Colchian poi son' (8) clearly points to the crimes of Medea, while parricide may evoke Oedipus (6 n.) and the guest murder one of the darker moments in the career of Hercules (8 n.). The moralising turn about the unpredictability of the future at 13 14 owes something to a fragment of a *threnos* of Simonides (fr. 521 *PMG*):

ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν μή ποτε φάσῃς ὅ τι γίνεται αὔριον,
μηδ' ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ὄλβιον ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσεται·
ὠκεῖα γὰρ οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μυίας
οὕτως ἁ μετάστασις.

You are man: then never say what will happen tomorrow, nor, when you see a prosperous man, how long he will prosper; for not even the move ment of a long winged fly is so swift (tr. Campbell).

This fragment may come from a poem lamenting those killed in a house collapse from which Simonides himself supposedly had a divinely aided escape (for the story cf. Quint. 11.2.11 16); this would give a larger context in Greek lyric for the whole poem (cf. Oates 1932: 2 20), but this must remain uncertain as the evidence stands. The juxtaposition in 24 8

of both the similarities and the differences of Sappho and Alcaeus reflects the traditional technique of *synkrisis* or formal comparison, best known to us from Plutarchan biography and a key feature of ancient literary criti cism (see e.g. La Penna 1993: 315 24, Feeney 2002). These lines are one of the key passages of H. on his Greek models, and Alcaeus is clearly preferred to Sappho: for discussion of H.'s interactions with Sappho's poetry cf. Feeney 1993, Woodman 2002, Hallett 2006 and Thévenaz 2007 (for H. and Alcaeus see 26 7 n. below). The idea that Sappho continues her erotic interest in her fellow countrywomen in the under world clearly picks up a Sapphic fragment (24 n.).

Select bibliography

Davis 1991: 78 89; Feeney 1993: 48 50; Lowrie 1997: 199 205; Bowditch 2001: 86 95; Schmidt 2002: 180 9; Woodman 2002.

1 2 Ille . . . | **quicumque primum:** recalls the similar opening curse on the unknown inventor of an instrument of destruction at Tib. 1.10.1 2 *Quis fuit, horrendos primus qui protulit enses?* | *quam ferus et uere ferreus ille fuit!*; it may also echo the earlier Prop. 1.17.13 14 a *pereat, quicumque rates et uela parauit* | *primus.* H.'s curse is more humorous than either (for another exaggerated curse cf. *Epod.* 3.1 3). We should understand *fuit* here: 'that man, whoever he was, planted you out in the first place on an ill starred day' (see N H's parallels for the ellipse). **nefasto** . . . **die:** a technically inauspicious day in the calendar (*OLD* s.v. *nefastus* 1b); for the same rhetoric inverted cf. Sulpicia on Cerinthus' birthday ([Tib.] 3.11.1 2 *Qui mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit, hic mihi sanctus* | *atque inter festos semper habendus erit*). **et** . . . **et:** points to the careful balance of the ablative phrases *nefasto* . . . *die* and *sacrilega manu.* **posuit:** a standard term for planting trees (cf. Virg. *E.* 1.73, *OLD* s.v. 4).

2 3 sacrilega manu | produxit: suggests hand rearing and perversely spe cial care, as with a child (cf. Apul. *Met.* 2.3.2 *ego te, o Luci, meis istis manibus educaui* with van Mal Maeder's note; for *produco* in such contexts cf. *OLD* s. v. 4), deeply ironic with *sacrilega* which like *nefasto* . . . . *die* points to impiety here (cf. Tib. 2.4.26 *sacrilegas sentiat illa manus, OLD* s.v. 2b). **arbos:** a more archaic and dignified form than the more usual *arbor* (cf. Quint. 1.4.13), found predominantly in poetry (it is the only nominative form used by Virgil).

3 4 in nepotum | perniciem 'to the destruction of his descendants' (for *in* of purpose cf. *OLD* s.v. 21); for the phrase cf. Cic. *Fam.* 5.2.6 *in meam perniciem*; the colourful noun, isolated in enjambment for emphasis, is found in the *Odes* only here and at 3.5.16, again in enjambment. The

phrase ironically inverts the normal topos of planting to benefit future generations (see e.g. *E.* 9.50 *insere, Daphni, piros, carpent tua poma nepotes*), also played on at 2.14.22 4 (Postumus' trees will not follow him to the underworld but go to his heir) and 2.15.5 8 (current olive groves will be neglected by a future owner). **opprobriumque pagi:** again with *in,* 'to the disgrace of the village'; for the genitive cf. 4.12.6 7 *Cecropiae domus* | *aeternum opprobrium. pagus* suggests the small community of Horace's *Sabinum* as at *Ep.* 1.18.105, the first hint at the location of the tree (cf. 10 *agro . . . meo,* 12 *domini*).

5 illum: emphatic repetition of pronoun (after 1 *ille*) in stanza initial position, followed by *ille* in mid line at 8; cf. similarly 2.16.1 5 (three uses of the form *otium,* all line initial); for another triple repetition in this poem cf. 27 8 n. **parentis** . . . **sui:** balances *nepotum*; the planter's impiety is putatively extended to parents as well as descendants. For parricide as the most heinous of crimes at Rome cf. e.g. *Epod.* 3.1 2 (on 6 below), Cic. *S. Rosc.* 70, *Phil.* 2.31; mere father beating ensures a place in Virgil's Tartarus (*A.* 6.609). For parricide as similarly emblematic of wickedness in a hyper bolic rhetorical context cf. *Ep.* 1.16.36 7 *neget esse pudicum,* | *contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum. sui* is incredulously emphatic ('even his own father'); compare Scylla's wicked and treacherous parricide at Ov. *Met.* 8.85 6 *fatali nata parentem* | *crine suum spoliat.* **crediderim:** perfect subjunctive, 'I would believe', strictly 'I would be in a position of having believed'; for this colloquial usage see Fedeli on Prop. 1.1.23 4.

6 fregisse ceruicem: a brutal mode of killing (strangling); cf. *Epod.* 3.1 2 *Parentis olim siquis impia manu* | *senile guttur fregerit* and *Ep.* 1.16.36 7 (above). **penetralia:** the private inner space of a house (*OLD* s.v. 1); the word's perceived etymological link with *penates,* the gods of the hearth (Maltby 1991: 462), reinforces the sense of impious violation here.

7 nocturno 'at night', a common poetic use of the adjective (cf. 2.5.19, *S.* 1.3.117, *OLD* s.v. 1b). The concealment of night suggests the killer's low cunning; for night time blood compare the Danaids' slaughter of their new husbands at Ov. *Her.* 14.17 *temeratae sanguine noctis.* **cruore:** for the rare hiatus at the end of this third line of the Alcaic stanza see N H.

8 9 hospitis: carefully balances *parentis* at the other end of the clause, one criminal violation of duty set against another; for the juxtaposition of killing of father and guest as two instances of the height of impiety cf. Ennius *Trag.* 177 8 J, condemning *quis parentem aut hospitem* | *necasset,* and for further material on guest murder see N H here. For the rare strong pause after the dactyl in the fourth line of the Alcaic stanza see N H here, and for the even rarer double weak caesura here see N H on 2.1.36 (as often metrical licences occur together). **ille:** see on 5 above. **uenena**

Colcha evokes the Colchian Medea's famous uses of poison, e.g. in the killing of Jason's new bride; cf. *Epod.* 17.35 *uenenis . . . Colchicis,* Watson on *Epod.* 5.24. **Colcha | et:** for the hiatus between stanzas in Alcaics cf. 2.9.12, 2.17.4 and 3.5.56. **quidquid usquam concipitur nefas** 'whatever evil thing is conceived of anywhere'; *quidquid = quidquid aliud* (cf. 2.1.25 n.). *usquam* picks up the geographical distance of *Colcha,* while *nefas* (picking up 1 *nefasto*) refers to any kind of crime which like those of lines 5 8 can bring metaphorical pollution to the criminal; for *concipio* of nefarious ideas cf. *OLD* s.v. 9b.

10 tractauit both 'carried out', of a heinous crime (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.209, *OLD* s. v. 7a) and 'handled', of a disgusting object (*uenena*); cf. 1.37.27 *tractare serpentis, Epod.* 3.7 8 *an malas | Canidia tractauit dapes.* **agro . . . meo:** the prime indication that the tree was on H.'s Sabine estate (see introduction above); cf. *S.* 2.7.118 *agro . . . Sabino* (for *ager* = 'estate' cf. *OLD* s.v. 2a). **qui statuit:** picks up 1 2 *posuit . . . | quicumque*; like *pono, statuo* is a technical term for planting trees (*OLD* s.v. 1b).

11 te . . . te: for the insistent anaphora in an invective context cf. e.g. *Epod.* 4.20 *hoc, hoc tribuno militum,* and in general for rhetorical anaphora of *tu* see Wills 1996: 84 5. **triste lignum** 'you pernicious piece of timber' (vocative); cf. *S.* 1.8.1 *inutile lignum*; with *caducum* following, *triste* means 'grim, destructive' (*OLD* s.v. 7).

11 12 caducum | in domini caput immerentis 'destined to fall on your undeserving master's head' (for *caducus* in this sense see *OLD* s.v. 6b); *domini* is a further hint at H.'s *Sabinum* (cf. 10 *agro . . . meo* and introduction above), as well as suggesting that the tree is like a disloyal slave in attempt ing to kill its master, while the innocence of the potential victim com pounds the tree's wickedness (cf. *Epod.* 6.1 *immerentis hospites,* 7.19 *immerentis . . . Remi*).

13 14 quid quisque uitet numquam homini satis | cautum est in horas 'what each individual should avoid is never sufficiently foreseen by man from one hour to the next'; for the use of Simonides fr. 521 *PMG* here see introduction above. The impersonal *cautum est* is prosaic and legalistic (it is very common in the *Digest*); *homini* (here dative of agent, cf. 2.6.5 n.) points to generalised mortal frailty as in Simonides' ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν (see introduction above); cf. the similarly gnomic Virg. *A.* 10.501 *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae.* For *in horas* in this sense cf. *S.* 2.7.10, *AP* 160; the time reference may pick up Simonides' αὔριον (above). **nauita Bosphorum:** for sailing through the notoriously stormy Bosphorus cf. 3.4.30 1 *insanientem nauita Bosphorum | temptabo* with N R. H. uses both *nauta* and *nauita,* but only the latter (archaic and poetic) form in the *Odes* and *Epodes.* The juxtaposition of sailor and soldier here recalls their similar

conjunction as dangerous and undesirable careers at 1.1.13 25 and *S.* 1.1.4 8.

15 Poenus: the transmitted text is understandably doubted by many; for the full range of conjectures see the Oslo database. It is hard to see the particular relevance here of Carthaginian or Phoenician sailors in the Bosphorus (see N H here), or of the juxtaposition *Bosphorum* | *Poenus,* and the epithet with *nauita* disturbs the balance with the epithetless *miles* in 17. Lachmann's conjecture *Thynus* (in his note on Lucr. 2.27) though an appropriately local ethnic (cf. 3.7.3 *Thyna merce*) and N H's suggestion *prudens* are good palaeographically, and the latter is nicely alliterative, but the *nauita/miles* symmetry already noted and Horatian parallels both sug gest that we need an epithet or complement for *Bosphorum,* which has one on its other appearances in H. (cf. 2.20.14 *gementis* ... *Bospori,* 3.4.30 *insanientem* ... *Bosphorum*). Peerlkamp suggested *Bosphori* | *aestus* (cf. Catull. 64.127 *pelagi uastos* ... *aestus*), Moser *Bosphori* | *portas,* close to *Poenus* and alliterative but an unparalleled phrase, while Delz 1993 sug gested both *toruum* (used of rivers: *OLD* s.v. 4) and *saeuum* (common of seas: *OLD* s.v. 5; cf. 3.3.37 8 *saeuiat* ... | ... *pontus*); the last seems the most attractive proposal so far. **perhorrescit:** the expressive verb is found only here and 3.16.18 in H.; cf. 1.17.12 *personuere,* 2.1.18 *perstringas,* 3.4.75 *peredit* (all found only once in H.).

15 16 neque ultra | caeca timet aliunde fata 'nor does he beyond that fear unseen destruction from another source', i.e. once the sailor is through the dangers of the narrow channel of the Bosphorus he unwisely relaxes his fears (if going north he emerges into the traditionally stormy Black Sea). *timet* must be lengthened to scan, but this is acceptable here at the natural caesura in the line (and Lachmann's *timetue* is unnecessary); see N H here and Bo 1960: 88. For *caeca* ... *fata* cf. Prop. 2.27.6 *caeca pericla uiae* (with the adjective in the same sense of 'unseen, unanticipated: *OLD* s. v. 7c); *fata* here means 'bad fate, destruction' (*OLD* s.v. 6), while the familiar *aliunde* is found only here in H.

17 miles: here specifically 'Roman soldier', heading its clause like the balancing *nauita* (14 n.); *miles* (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b), *Parthi* and *Parthus* are all military collective singulars (cf. *OLD* s.v. *miles* 1b and N H on 1.19.12). Note the chiastic order *miles sagittas* ... | ... *catenas Parthus,* expressing the balance in sense here.

17 18 sagittas et celerem fugam | Parthi: Parthian archery and the backward 'Parthian shot' by retreating horsemen was already a poetic topos for H. (cf. Catull. 11.6 *sagittiferosue Parthos,* Virg. *G.* 3.31 *fidentemque fuga Parthum uersisque sagittis*; for later material cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.786 *ut celer auersis utere Parthus equis* with Gibson's note), though the allusion also

evokes Roman concern about the Parthians in the 20s BCE (cf. 2.2.17 n., N H I.xxxi ii).

18 19 catenas ... **et Italum | robur:** cf. *CS* 53 4 *manus potentis* | *Medus Albanasque timet securis*; *robur* means 'manpower' (*OLD* s.v. 6; not 'Oak', as Virg. *A.* 11.326 *Italo* ... *robore*). For the prospect of *catenae* for defeated Parthians cf. 1.29.4 5 *horribilique Medo* | *nectis catenas?*, and for barbarian fear of Roman forces cf. 2.20.17 18. **Parthus:** for the case variation with *Parthi* in a similar logically connected sequence cf. 1.33.5 7 *Lycorida* | *Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam* | *declinat Pholoen*; for the technique in H. see Bo 1960: 398 401 and in general Wills 1996: 272 8. **sed:** points the contrast between expected and unexpected danger, stressing the latter.

19 20 improuisa leti | uis: closely picks up 15 16 *neque ultra* | *caeca timet aliunde fata* (*improuisa* ~ *caeca, leti uis* ~ *fata*), while *uis* caps 19 *robur* (death is a force larger than mortal armies). *leti uis* (note the alliteration with *improuisa*) is (surprisingly) an unparalleled conjunction in classical Latin, though the genitive *leti* is especially frequent in Lucretius (18x; the noun is generally archaic and poetic). For the unforeseen nature of death see the material gathered by N H here. **rapuit rapietque:** for the close repetition of the same verb in different tenses, an Horatian trait in the *sermones* (but only here in the *Odes*) cf. *AP* 70 *cecidere, cadentque* with Brink's note, Brink on *Ep.* 2.1.160, Bo 1960: 400, Wills 1996: 298 310, and for *rapio* of the action of death cf. 2.17.6, *OLD* s.v. 5 (perhaps echoing Greek ἁρπάζω, used of Hades at Call. *Ep.* 41.2 Pf.). **gentis:** the final word of the stanza picks up the ethnic terms *Poenus* (if correct), *Parthus* and *Italus* (all races are subject to sudden death). It both balances and expands *pagi* at the end of the first stanza, pointing similarly to a human community but a much larger one. It adds a lexical element of generalisation to the gnomic conclusion of 19 20 to create a strong feeling of (false) closure at the end of the poem's first half. For this kind of medial false closure in the *Odes* see Harrison 2004, and for generalisation as a common closural marker cf. Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997: 306.

21 2 quam paene: introducing an exclamation as at Ter. *HT* 814, Ov. *Am.* 3.2.15, *Pont.* 3.6.1; the phrase immediately makes clear the counterfactual nature of the katabasis of 21 40. **furuae regna Proserpinae:** *furuus* is a poetic adjective for 'dark' with funereal/chthonic implications (*OLD* s.v.); for the phrase *regna Proserpinae* cf. *Epod.* 17.2 and the material gathered here by N H. **Proserpinae | et:** for the rare hiatus between the first and second line in the Alcaic (only here in Book 2) cf. Bo 1960: 46. **iudicantem** ... **Aeacum:** Aeacus was grandfather of Achilles, known for his outstanding virtue (Plut. *Thes.* 3) and hence an arbiter for the gods (Pind. *Isth.* 8.23 4) and a judge in the underworld (cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 524a, Prop. 2.20.30 (probably

before H.) *inferno damnes, Aeace, iudicio*), here seen in judicial action in the world below as with Cato at Virg. *A.* 8.870 *dantem iura Catonem.* **uidimus:** the plural as at 1.2.13 *uidimus* (the only other example of this verb form in the *Odes*) invites reader participation in the coming scenario.

23 sedesque descriptas piorum 'and the home assigned to the pious', stressing the firm ideological topography usual in the afterlife, with souls given fixed places according to their previous conduct on earth; for the phrase cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14.32 *piorum . . . sedem,* Livy 2.38.5 *sede piorum,* and for the idea Virg. *A.* 6.431 *nec uero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes,* Cic. *Rep.* 6.13, Ov. *Am.* 2.6.51. *descriptas* has a legal overtone of land distribution (*OLD* s.v. *describo* 5) and is better than the lesser variants *discriptas* and *discretas* here (see N H).

24 Aeoliis fidibus querentem: cf. 4.9.12 *Aeoliis fidibus* (Sappho again). The phrase economically pinpoints Sappho's Greek dialect (Aeolic), her lyric genre (*fides,* 3rd decl. pl. = 'lyre' since Plautus, see *OLD* s.v.), and her subject matter of first person love and separation (for *queror* of the com plaint of the disappointed lover cf. e.g. Tib. 1.8.1, Prop. 1.3.43, 1.4.8). Sappho's continuing erotic interest in the girls of Lesbos in the world below is taken from a poem of Sappho herself, recently reconstituted by modern scholarship: cf. P.Colon. 21351.9, De Benedetto 2005, Tsantsanoglou 2009.

25 Sappho: Greek accusative (cf. e.g. Ov. *Her.* 15.217); she is named only here and at *Ep.* 1.19.28 (below) in H. **puellis de popularibus** 'about girls from her own people' (*OLD* s.v. 1), i.e. girls of Lesbos; for the plaintive homoeroticism of Sappho's poetry cf. e.g. Burnett 1983: 229 76, Greene 1996, Snyder 1997.

26 7 te sonantem plenius aureo, | Alcaee, plectro 'you, Alcaeus, sounding more fully with your golden plectrum'; the hiatus between the second and third line of the Alcaic stanza is rare (only here in Book 2; cf. Bo 1960: 46), a licence which may be softened by the proper name here (often a trigger for metrical flexibility). The apostrophe of Alcaeus here already suggests a closer interest in the grander, male poet than in the softer, plaintive Sappho, and he is named four times in H. to Sappho's twice (see above); for his role as H.'s chief model see e.g. Feeney 1993. *sonantem plenius* (for the adverb see N H here) suggests more extensive, epic style ambitions within lyric in comparison to the more 'feminine' topics of Sappho (cf. *S.* 1.4.43 4 *os | magna sonaturum* with Gowers' note); for *sonare* of the sounding of the lyre cf. *Epod.* 9.5, 17.40. This characterisation fits with the account of Alcaeus' poetry at 1.32.5 6, with its focus on the higher, epic subject of war (see on 27 8 below). *aureo . . . plectro* balances and caps *Aeoliis fidibus*: 'golden' here could reflect both the actual material

of a (gilded) plectrum and also Alcaeus' metaphorically 'golden' (i.e. excellent) quality as a poet (cf. Lucr. 3.12 *aurea dicta* (of Epicurus), *OLD* s.v. *aureus* 5); *plectrum* can suggest style more generally as well as its literal technical use (cf. 2.1.40 n.).

27 8 dura nauis, | dura fugae mala, dura belli: the rare triple anaphora of the identical form *dura* is matched by that of *otium* at 2.16.1 6 (cf. Bo 1960: 143); the evils (*mala*; for the substantive cf. 3.6.8 *Hesperiae mala*) in the list increase in intensity, climaxing in war. The repeated adjective strongly emphasises Alcaeus' 'masculine' toughness and world of action (already perceived in antiquity: cf. e.g. Athen. 14.627a b), against Sappho's 'feminine' sentimentality and more private environment, though it also pairs the two as poets of complaint (*durus* here is partly affective, 'oppressive, terrible'; *OLD* s.v. 8). This summary of Alcaeus' career is bleaker than that of 1.32.5 12, which nonetheless points to his sailing and characterises him as fighting and singing of war (in addition to symposia and love). The poet's sufferings are documented in the surviving fragments (for his life in general see e.g. Burnett 1983: 107 20): for sailing see fr.208 V., for exile fr.130b V., for war 1.32.6 7 with N H's note.

29 30 utrumque sacro digna silentio | mirantur umbrae dicere 'the shades are entranced at both as they recite things worthy of sacred silence'; these *uates* of sacred status (cf. 4.9.28 *uate sacro*) and their performances (*dicere* means 'recite, sing' as often: cf. *CS* 8, *OLD* s.v. 6b) merit the silence due to such priest prophets (cf. 3.1.2 with N R); *sacro digna silentio* suggests the secrets of magic or mystery religion (cf. *Epod.* 5.51 2 *quae silentium regis, | arcana cum fiunt sacra* with Watson's note, Virg. *A.* 3.112 *fida silentia sacris* with Horsfall's note), appropriate given the echoes here of the mystic Orpheus (see below). That both poets are heard with silence suggests that both have something significant to say despite H.'s implied higher rating of Alcaeus (26 *plenius*; see La Penna 1993). The wondering silence of the shades before poets recalls the recent *Georgics* 4 (for its influence on Book 2 see Introduction, section 4), where the whole underworld stops stupefied by the song of Orpheus (4.471 84; cf. esp. 4.471 2 *cantu commo tae . . . | umbrae*, 481 *stupuere*); cf. also *E.* 6.30 *nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.* **sed magis:** the crowd share the poet's higher rating of Alcaeus (*magis* recalls *plenius*), perhaps because of his more overtly dra matic subject matter; for once the poet of the *Odes* represents himself as at one with the *uulgus* (*contra* e.g. 2.2.19, 2.16.40, 3.1.1).

31 pugnas et exactos tyrannos: known Alcaean themes (see on 27 8 above); the tyrants in question are Melanchrus and Myrsilus of Mytilene (cf. Alcaeus fr.331, 332 V.), the first at least probably expelled by Alcaeus' family (cf. Burnett 1983: 110 14). Such themes would of course appeal to

a conventional Roman audience given similar topics prominent in Roman culture and literature (e.g. the Punic Wars and the expulsion of the Tarquins).

32 densum umeris . . . **uulgus** 'the crowd close packed with its shoulders', like a wood with close packed trees (for image and construction cf. Luc. 3.362 *robore densae . . . siluae*); the appropriately compressed phrase neatly suggests an avid audience standing pressed shoulder to shoulder as in Roman public spaces (cf. Mart. 6.38.5 6 *densumque corona uulgus* with Grewing's note). **bibit aure** 'drinks in with the ear'; for this metaphor for rapt attention (first here but taken up by other Augustan poets) cf. *OLD* s.v. *bibo* 10; for synaesthesia (mixing of senses, here hearing and taste) in H. cf. 2.1.21 n.

33 40 The concluding vignette of the torments of the underworld paused matches that of 2.19.29 32, where Bacchus similarly charms Cerberus; for the technique of closural vignette in the *Odes* see 2.5.21 4 n. It also of course recalls the recent Virgilian account of the katabasis of Orpheus in *Georgics* 4 (see introduction above).

33 quid mirum: a lively and colloquial phrase, only here in H. and before him in Latin poetry only at Lucr. 5.1238. **illis carminibus:** *illis* points to the songs of both poets; for the simple ablative after *stupeo* (an archaic and poetic construction) cf. *S.* 1.4.28, *OLD* s.v. 1. **stupens** picks up Virg. *G.* 4.481 *stupuere* (see introduction above); for the theme of lulling the underworld in the course of a katabasis see N H here.

34 5 demittit atras . . . | **auris:** the dog's ears are lowered as a sign of docility (see N H here); *atras* indicates infernal location as well as dark colour (for the former cf. 2.14.17 and *OLD* s.v. 2b, for the latter the recent Tib. 1.3.71 *niger . . . Cerberus*). For the normally fearsome hound's mild reaction to a katabasis see 2.19.29 32 n. **belua centiceps:** as at 3.11.17 18 (see N R) H. adopts Pindar's reported expansion to a hundred (fr. 249a Snell/Maehler = *Dith.* II) of the usual three heads of Cerberus (cf. e.g. 2.19.30 1, Virg. *G.* 4.483); the compound *centiceps* (first found here) certainly picks up a similar Pindaric epithet (*Ol.* 4.8 ἑκατογκεφάλας, of Typhoeus) and is well matched by the hyperbolic *belua* (used only here of Cerberus).

35 6 intorti capillis | Eumenidum . . . **angues:** picks up Virg. *G.* 4.482 3 *caeruleosque implexae crinibus angues | Eumenides*, with *Eumenidum* similarly at line start and *angues* at line end. For the Furies' place in the underworld and their snaky hair cf. N H here; *capillis* is ablative, 'snakes twisted in their hair', while *intorquere* is found only here in H.; for its ablative construction cf. Petronius 131.4 *licium . . . uarii coloris filis intortum* and the model at Virg. *G.* 4.482 *implexae crinibus angues* (see introduction above). **recreantur** 'are

given a break' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), a witty image, matching the entertaining hyperbole of *belua centiceps*: for a time the Furies' snakes can relax from their normal aggression (for which cf. Tib. 1.3.71 *Tisiphoneque impexa feros pro crinibus angues*).

37 quin et: cf. 3.11.21 *quin et Ixion*, again in a catalogue of infernal torments; both are influenced by Virg. *G.* 4.481 *quin* in the same context (see introduc tion above). **Prometheus et Pelopis parens:** an alliterative selection from the many possibilities of infernal sufferers (for the similar selection of a patronym in an alliterative name list cf. 2.4.7 n.). For Prometheus' punishment in Tartarus for his illicit aid to mankind see 2.18.33 5, *Epod.* 17.67 with Watson's note (in both places he is paired as here with Tantalus); consign ment to Hades is mentioned as a possibility for Prometheus at [Aesch.] *PV* 1050 3. Tantalus, father of Pelops (cf. similarly *Epod.* 17.65 *Pelopis infidi pater*) infamously served his son as meat to the gods (cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 1.36 51) and is a regular amongst underworld sinners since Homer (*Od.* 11.582 92; else where in H. see the two passages cited above for Prometheus plus *S.* 1.1.68 with Gowers' note); he does not occur in the katabasis of *Georgics* 4, but is found before H. in Tibullus' recent underworld at 1.3.77 and in Lucretius' famous deconstruction of Hades (3.981).

38 dulci . . . **sono:** could apply to both Alcaeus' voice (cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.284 *dulci . . . sono*) and his lyre (cf. 4.3.17 18 *testudinis aureae | dulcem . . . strepi tum*). **laborem decipitur** 'is beguiled in his task', i.e. momentarily forgets the pain of his labour while still doing it; *decipitur* balances *recreantur* in sense and passive voice. *laborem* is retained accusative of respect, a select Grecising construction (cf. Harrison 1991, Appendix D); for the phrase cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.14 *fallitur ancillae decipiturque labor.* The variant *laborum* (possible in con struction: for the genitive cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 239 *sermonis fallebar*) would naturally go with *dulci sono* here, undesirable in sense; for *labor* of the punishments of the underworld cf. 2.14.20 (of Sisyphus), Prop. 2.17.7, 2.20.2 (the only uses before H.), *TLL* VII.2.791.5 7.

39 nec curat 'is not concerned to'; for phrase and construction cf. *Ep.* 2.2.182 *est qui non curat habere.* **Orion:** here as in *Odyssey* 11 (572 3) Orion is a hunter in the underworld as he had been on earth; H. follows the version in which he is punished for the attempted rape of Diana (cf. 3.4.70 1 with N R).

39 40 leones | aut timidos agitare lyncas: Orion is presented as chasing two opposite categories of big cat, the fierce lion (cf. 1.16.15 with N H) and the supposedly fearful lynx (cf. 4.6.33 4 *fugaces | lyncas*); for *agitare* of hunting pursuit cf. *OLD* s.v. 3b. Orion and Leo are both constellations, relatively close to each other (the modern constellation Lynx was only named in the seventeenth century; for Orion cf. 1.28.21,

for Leo 3.29.19); given that *agitare* can be used of one constellation apparently 'chasing' another (cf. Cic. *Arat.* 368 Traglia *praecipitem agi tans* (the Dog 'chases' the Hare)), there may be an astronomical sub text here. The ode ends with a vivid and lingering vignette, as often (cf. 2.5.21 4 n.).

14 SUMMARY

Life disappears rapidly, Postumus, whatever one's virtue or attempts to placate the gods below: we must all make the infernal voyage (1 12). Even if we avoid the main dangers of human existence, we must all leave the good things of life behind for our heirs to squander (13 28).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

This ode on death is addressed to Postumus; the name is common at Rome as a *cognomen* for those born after their father's death (e.g. Augustus' grandson Agrippa Postumus). Some have suggested that it is too conveni ent for the topic of the poem for Postumus to be the name of a real person, but H. elsewhere invokes an addressee by a real *cognomen* which has neat semantic relevance to a poem's content: cf. Fuscus in 1.22 with its refer ences to 'dusky' (*fuscus*) Africa (De Pretis 2004: 55) or Scaeua in *Ep.* 1.17 with its advice on how not to be *scaeuus*, 'gauche' (Mayer 1994: 231). N H plausibly suggest that H.'s addressee is C. Propertius Postumus, relative of the poet Propertius and a possible addressee of Prop. 3.12, where he is about to go on Augustus' Parthian expedition; his high status would fit the rich man of this poem, and his wife Aelia Galla, praised for her fidelity by Propertius, would fit the (admittedly highly conventional) *placens uxor* of lines 21 2. For further information on Postumus, a minor official who had some responsibility for road maintenance under Augustus and whose funerary inscription is preserved at *CIL* 4.1501, see *PIR*^{2} P 1010 and Cairns 2009: 16 20; for a case against the identification see White 1995.

The topic of death pairs this poem closely with the contiguous 2.13, which likewise points to the inevitability of death (2.13.13 14 ~ 2.14.1 12), specifies sailing as perilous for mortals (2.13.14 15 ~ 2.14.13 14), and gives some account of the mythological topography of the underworld (2.13.21 40 ~ 2.14.7 9, 17 20); there is nice irony in 2.13's focus on escape from death being followed by 2.14's insistence on its universality. There is also an espe cially close connection with 2.3, also addressed to a rich property owner who cannot take his wealth with him when death comes: both poems stress the inevitability of death (2.3.4 8 ~ 2.14.1 12), the need to leave behind

particular rich houses with gardens which seem to form the settings for both poems (2.3.17 18 ~ 2.14.21 4), the universal obligation to cross the river to the underworld (2.3.27 8 ~ 2.14.9 11) and to die whether rich or poor (2.3.21 4 ~ 2.14.11 12), and the succession of an heir to one's estate (2.3.19 20 ~ 2.14.25 8). As in 2.13 (see introduction to that poem), the recent account of the underworld in Virgil's *Georgics* 4 is also alluded to (cf. 7 8 n., 17 18 n.); for the general prominence of the *Georgics* and of the theme of the underworld in Book 2 see Introduction, section 4.

The poem falls into two parts, the first describing the general necessity of death in one sentence of three stanzas (1 12), the second recounting the particulars of its possible modes and consequences in two sentences of two stanzas each (13 28). It is carefully structured through a number of formal features: *indomitaeque morti* (4) and *illacrimabilem* | *Plutona* (6 7) repeat in parallel negative epithets the key idea of death's inexorability, while the gerundives *enauiganda* (11), *uisendus* (17) and *linquenda* (21), the last two closely paired by stanza initial location, maintain across the whole poem the theme of necessity, and there are four separate tricolon lists of items that cannot be resisted, are vain precautions, must be seen or must be abandoned (3 4, 13 16, 17 20, 21 2), which stress the inevitability and inclusivity of death regardless of human effort and enterprise. The poem ends with two stanzas of items that must be left behind, listed with increasing specificity, climaxing in the trees of 22 4 and then followed by a whole stanza on wine (25 8); we may guess that these were particular passions of the addressee, though the material is generic. The image of flowing water, whether that of rivers or seas, punctuates the poem (see Introduction, section 6).

Alcaeus fr.38A V. has several points of contact with our poem (cf. esp. 19 20 n.), though unlike our poem Alcaeus' fragment is sympotic in con text ('drink, Melanippus we must all cross Acheron, even Sisyphus, most intelligent of mortals'). Especially notable is the echo in 21 4 (see n.) of Lucretius' famous satirical presentation of the insignificance of leaving behind one's family in death at *DRN* 3.894 901:

'Iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor
optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent.
non poteris factis florentibus esse tuisque
praesidium. misero misere' aiunt 'omnia ademit
una dies infesta tibi tot praemia uitae.'
illud in his rebus non addunt 'nec tibi earum
iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.'

Here the Horatian text (as in the famous imitation of Lucretius' lines in Thomas Gray's 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' (1751), lines 21 4) reinstates the fear of loss of loved ones and worldly goods dismissed

by the more radical Lucretius; though the poet himself might as an Epicurean have some sympathy with this hard line approach (cf. e.g. 2.20.21 4), there is a clear need to soften it for the wealthy Postumus and the more conventional Roman reader. Lucretius' account of the torments of the underworld elsewhere in Book 3 is also picked up in H.'s poem (2.14.7 *Tityonque* ~ 3.984 *Tityon,* 2.14.18 *Danai genus* ~ 3.1008 10 (Danaids), 2.14.20 *Sisyphus* ~ 3.995 *Sisyphus*). For H.'s extensive engage ment with Lucretius in Book 2 see Introduction, section 4.

Select bibliography

Woodman 1967; Roberts 1991; Heuzé 1992.

1 **Eheu:** the intense emotional exclamation is found six times in H. (three in the *Odes*), more rarely than *heu* (14x in *Odes*); *o* is the only exclamation otherwise used to begin an ode (2.7.1 n.).

1 2 **fugaces** ... **labuntur:** the image here is that of an onward flowing river (cf. 2.3.12 *lympha fugax,* 1.2.19 20 *labitur* ... | ... *amnis, Ep.* 1.2.43 *labetur in omne uolubilis aeuum*; for time as a river see the extended image of 3.29.33 40), a neat counterpart for the river of the underworld in lines 8 11, equally irresistible, and it fits *moram, instanti* and *indomitae* (see below). **Postume, Postume:** like *eheu,* the immediate repetition of the name expresses emo tional intensity, and also perhaps points to its semantic relevance to the poem's theme of death (see introduction above). For a similarly pathetic name repetition cf. 3.3.18 *Ilion, Ilion* and for the technique of immediate repetition in general see Bo 1960: 397 8 (on H.) and Wills 1996: 57, 102 6; only here in the *Odes* is the addressee's name sequentially repeated. **nec pietas:** for the incapacity of *pietas* to save a mortal from death cf. in a similar context 4.7.23 4 *non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te* | *restituet pietas*; the attempted placation of Pluto in 6 7 exemplifies this key Roman virtue.

2 3 **moram | rugis:** for wrinkles as a sign of old age cf. *Epod.* 8.3 4, *OLD* s.v. *ruga* 2a. *moram* would also fit the metaphor of slowing down a river (1 2 n.); cf. Sen. *HF* 573 *ars, quae praebuerat fluminibus moras.* **instanti senectae:** the participle suggests the threatening looming of a personification of old age such as the *Senectus* of the Virgilian underworld (*A.* 6.275), though it can also suit a river pressing on (1 2 n.); cf. Statius *Theb.* 9.487 8 *instant undae sequiturque labantem* | *amnis ouans.* For the archaic form *senectae* cf. 2.6.6 n., and for the rare hiatus at the end of the third line of the Alcaic stanza see N H on 2.13.7.

4 **indomitaeque morti:** death is similarly ἀδάμαστος, 'indomitable', for Homer (*Il.* 9.158); the phrase anticipates 6 7 *illacrimabilem* | *Plutona.* Again, the adjective can suit a forceful river (1 2 n.) (cf. Prop. 1.20.16

indomito … *Ascanio, OLD* s.v. 1c), while the phrase as a whole clearly balances *instanti senectae*, with the alliterating epithets *instanti* and *indomi tae* and the nouns for death and old age occupying the same final position in their consecutive lines.

5 **non si:** for the emphatic *non* in such contexts of the incapacity of mortal virtue to resist death cf. 4.7.23 4 (1 2 n. above).

5 7 **trecenis** … **tauris:** a fantastically hyperbolic daily triple hecatomb (sacrifice of 100: for a single one cf. *Epod.* 17.39, for a one off triple Livy 22.10.7); for 300 used as a typically large number cf. 3.4.79 and N H here (the distributive numeral points to the groups of bulls supposedly slain each day). The hyperbole is underlined by the extreme hyperbaton in which noun and adjective are separated by seven words and two lines. The theme of the insufficiency of lavish bovine sacrifice to avoid death recalls *Il.* 22.168 71, where Zeus regrets that he cannot save the doomed Hector though he has 'burned many thighs of oxen to me' (22.170 ὅς μοι πολλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκηεν). **quotquot eunt dies** 'however many days there are that pass'; the prosaic *quotquot* is found only here and *S.* 2.7.14 in H., while for *ire* of *dies* cf. 4.5.7 *gratior it dies.* **places:** vivid present subjunctive, 'if you were to placate'. **illacrimabilem | Plutona:** the adjective (only found in two passages of H. before Tacitus) is active in sense here, 'unweeping', following the normal usage of the Homeric and poetic ἀδάκρυτος (LSJ s.v. I), but passive at 4.9.26 (following a rarer usage of the same, LSJ s.v. II); traditionally Death cannot be cajoled by tears and is pitiless; cf. 2.3.24 *nil miserantis Orci* with n. The Greek accusa tive *Plutona* is found only here in classical Latin, but the Latin form *Plutonem* not at all until Lactantius in the third century CE.

7 **ter amplum** 'three times large', recalling Geryon's famous triple body and the compound adjectives used of it (*ter* is otherwise odd; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 870 τρισώματός … Γηρυών, Lucr. 5.28 *tripectora tergemini uis Geryonai*). The use of the number three in expressions of large quantity picks up 5 *trecenis.*

8 **Geryonen Tityonque:** paired Greek accusative forms (cf. *Plutona*); *Tityon* is regular (before H. cf. Lucr. 3.984 and Virg. *A.* 6.595), *Geryonen* is transmitted only here and Mart. 5.65.12 (for Greek accusatives in H. generally, all proper names, see Bo 1960: 112 13). The three bodied Geryon, killed by Hercules in Spain for his cattle in one of his labours (Hes. *Theog.* 287 92), and Tityos, a giant who tried to rape Leto (Hom. *Od.* 11.576 81), are traditional denizens of the underworld: Tityos is found again in this role at 3.4.77 and 3.11.21 as well as in Lucretius, and both he and Geryon are in Virgil's Hades of *Aeneid* 6 (289, 595 600).

8 9 tristi | compescit unda 'restrains with grim waters', i.e. the river Styx; cf. 2.20.8 *nec Stygia cohibebor unda* with n., Virg. *G.* 4.480 *Styx . . . coercet* (similarly of keeping the shades in Hades), *A.* 6. 438 9 *tristisque palus inamabilis undae | alligat*; for *tristis* of the underworld and its features (first here) see *OLD* s.v. 6a. **scilicet** 'surely', i.e. assuming the story is true; a relatively prosaic and colloquial word, found only five times in the *Odes* and in the *Aeneid* only in speeches. **omnibus:** for the universality of death cf. 2.3.25 n.

10 quicumque terrae munere uescimur 'whoever we are who feed on the gift of the earth': the first person plural draws in the reader and stresses that death comes to all (the archaic verb *uescor* is found only here in the *Odes*). The phrase echoes Homer *Il.* 6.142 εἰ δέ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, 'if you are one of those mortals who eats the fruit of the field' and similar locutions for 'human' (for more material see N H); *terrae munus* like καρπὸν refers to corn or bread, the 'gift of Ceres' (Virg. *A.* 8.181 *dona laboratae Cereris*, Ov. *Met.* 10.74 *Cereris . . . munere*).

11 enauiganda: for the universal voyage across the Styx cf. 2.3.27 8 n. The verb's prefix in this rare compound (only here in H. and Latin poetry) stresses the completion of the journey (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.33).

11 12 siue reges | siue inopes erimus coloni: for death as coming to all regardless of social status cf. 2.18.32 4 n.; for *reges* in this context cf. 1.4.13 14 *pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas | regumque turris* with N H's note, again as here to a rich addressee (for *rex* = 'rich patron' as well as 'king' cf. *OLD* s.v. 8). For the rural *colonus* (cultivator) as a type of poverty cf. 1.35.5 6 *te pauper ambit sollicita prece | ruris colonus.* As with *uescimur, erimus* brings speaker and reader together, here as inevitably subject to future death. The opposite nouns *reges* and *coloni* are carefully balanced in position at consecutive line ends.

13 16 This stanza is especially carefully structured. The key adverb *frustra* is repeated in line initial position (for the technique cf. 2.4.4 5 n., for the topos that whatever mortals do to stave off death is in vain see N H here), with its initial alliteration continued in *fractisque,* while the three dangers fruitlessly avoided are set out in a *tricolon ascendens*, each element of which has a specifying proper noun, in two cases emphatically placed at the end of its clause and line (*Marte . . . Hadriae, Austrum*). The assonance of *autumnos* and *Austrum* also adds neatly to their pairing as causes of ill health (both features occur again at *S.* 2.6.18 19), reflecting the fact that this wind blew in the autumn (Cels. 2.1.15, Pliny *NH* 2.124). The paired dangers of war and shipwreck here perhaps allude subtly to H.'s own survival of the battle of Philippi (cf. 2.7) and shipwreck off Sicily (cf. 3.4.28 with N R).

13 cruento Marte: the phrase occurs first here in Latin and is picked up by other poets (e.g. Manil. 3.632, Luc. 4.24); it perhaps matches φιλαίματος Ἄρης, 'blood-loving Ares' (*AP* 7.226.3). **carebimus** 'avoid' an evil, a common literary use; cf. 2.8.12, 2.10.6, *Ep.* 1.1.42, 2.2.206–7, *OLD* s.v. 3.

14 fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae 'and the broken waves of the harsh-sounding Adriatic'. *fractis* has been doubted (Allen 2009 proposes *atris-que*), but *raucus* here means 'harsh-sounding' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), which fits the noise of breaking waves, and for the expressively alliterative phrase *fracti fluctus* cf. Sen. *Q Nat.* 3.10.2 *tot fluctibus fractis* (and for the similar *fracta unda* cf. Lucr. 4.437, Virg. *A.* 10.291). For Adriatic waves cf. Silius 11.509 *fluctus . . . Hadriacos*, and for the stormy Adriatic in general (common in H.) see N–H on 1.16.4.

15–16 per autumnos 'each returning autumn'; cf. 2.3.6 *per dies* | *festos*, 'each returning festival'. For the traditional unhealthiness of autumn (and the associative assonance *autumnus/Auster*, suggesting the destructive aspect of the south wind) cf. *S.* 2.6.18–19 *plumbeus Auster* | *autumnusque grauis*, Cels. 1.3.37, 2.1.1., 5.26.6, *TLL* II.1603.63–72. **nocentem** | **corporibus . . . Austrum:** cf. Vitr. 5.3.1 (again of noxious winds) *nocentes spiritus corporibus*; for the particularly unhealthy south wind see N–H here and on 3.23.5–6, *S.* 2.6.19 (above) with Muecke's note, Ov. *Met.* 7.532 *letiferis calidi spirarunt aestibus Austri* with Bömer's note.

17–18 uisendus: the gerundive picks up 11 *enauiganda* and looks forward to 21 *linquenda*, the latter again in stanza-initial position (see introduction above, and the matching *relinquent . . . uisentur . . . euincet* in the next poem, 2.15.2–5); the verb perhaps ironically has overtones of a touristic expedition (cf. 1.2.8, 3.3.54, *OLD* s.v. 3a); this is a visit of no return. **ater . . . Cocytos:** cf. Virg. *A.* 6.132 *Cocytusque sinu labens circumue-nit atro*; for *ater* of the underworld and its features cf. 2.3.34–5 n., for the infernal river Cocytus ('wailing' (κώκυτος) in Greek), already found in Homer, *Od.* 11.514) see N–H here and Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 6.132 (above). **flumine languido | . . . errans** 'wandering with sluggish stream'. We avoid the raging waters of the Adriatic (14) only to meet the slow river of Hades (the water metaphor continues from lines 1–12); for the torpid rivers of the underworld see N–H here, and for their meandering cf. Virg. *A.* 6.132 (above), *G.* 4.480 (+ *A.* 6.439) *Styx nouies interfusa coercet.* For *languidus* of waters (first found here) cf. *OLD* s.v. 3a, for *errare* of rivers see *OLD* s.v. 2d.

18–19 Danai genus | infame 'the infamous progeny of Danaus'; for *genus* in this concrete sense, an archaic/poetic usage following Greek γένος (LSJ s.v.II), cf. *OLD* s.v.2, for *infamis* of a notorious person cf. *Epod.* 17.42 *infamis Helenae.* These are the fifty daughters of the Argive king Danaus, all except

one of whom killed their cousin husbands on their common wedding night owing to a family feud (cf. e.g. Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.1.5), found as sinners punished in the underworld since [Plat.] *Axioch.* 371e (see further N H here). The frequency of the myth in Augustan poetry may well be related to the Danaids' depiction in Augustus' Palatine complex; cf. e.g. Prop. 2.31.4, Ov. *Ars* 1.73 4, Harrison 1998.

19 20 damnatusque longi | . . . laboris: the standard genitive of penalty after *damno* (*OLD* s.v. 1c). *longus* expresses the victim's focalisation (cf. *OLD* s.v. 9c) and suggests '(drearily) eternal' as at 2.16.30, 3.11.38, 4.9.27 (the last two of death); for *labor* of infernal punishments cf. 2.13.38 n. Noun and adjective in agreement are vertically juxtaposed at line end; for the technique cf. 26 7 below and 2.4.13 14 n. **Sisyphus Aeolides:** probably echoes Alcaeus 38a.5 V. Σίσυφος Αἰολίδαις (see introduction above) as well as Homer *Il.* 6.154 Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης. Sisyphus was another regular sinner in Hades from Homer on (*Od.* 11.593 600); his offence seems to have been betraying a secret of Zeus (Apoll. *Bibl.* 1.9.3), his punishment was rolling a boulder eternally up a hill (*Od.* 11.595 600); he is included in Lucretius' deconstruction of the underworld myths (3.995 1002) as well as in earlier Latin poetry (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.10).

21 8 The list of things that Postumus must leave behind in death forms a *tricolon* in 21 4 (see introduction above), with items of increasing specificity, climaxing in the trees of 22 4 and then followed by a whole final stanza on wine (25 8). The picture of wine spilling on the stone floor is a striking final vignette; for this closural technique cf. 2.5.21 4 n. **linquenda tellus:** for the poetic *tellus* (referring to the earth as a whole) see 2.1.26 7 n., for *linquere* with various nouns in euphemisms for death cf. *OLD* s.v. 1c; this idea is inverted in the earth abandoning but death defying poetic swan of 2.20.3 5 *neque in terris morabor | longius inuidiaque maior | urbis relinquam*.

21 2 et domus et placens | uxor: echoes and inverts Lucr. 3.894 5 *iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor | optima* (see introduction above); cf. also 2.3.17 18 *cedes coemptis saltibus et domo | villaque, flauus quam Tiberis lauit.* The conjunction *placens uxor* is found only here, but the praise is conventional (cf. *Consol. Liv.* 42 *placuisse uiro* (Livia and Augustus), *CEL* 66.2 *uiro placui bono*, Lattimore 1942: 277 80); this *uxor* may be the Galla particularly praised for her fidelity in Prop. 3.12 (see introduction above), and the opposite of the husband murdering Danaids. **harum quos colis arborum:** *harum*, 'these that you see', suggests that the poem is set at Postumus' *domus*, just as 2.11.13 14 *hac | pinu* seems to set that ode at H.'s villa (these are the only two passages in H. which use the deictic *hic* for objects, suggesting the high cultural value of trees: see Barchiesi 2005: 155 7); compare the similarly complimentary setting of 2.3 at Dellius' villa

on the Tiber (see 2.3, introduction), though here there is no sympotic scenario (but note the stress on wine in 25 8). For Roman arboriculture as a hobby of the well to do see N H here, and for trees outliving their planters cf. 2.13.3 4 n.

23 4 te ... **sequetur:** *sequetur* as last word of the stanza is in balance with *linquenda* as its first word (Postumus leaves, the trees follow); this verb has a strong legal favour, meaning 'follow, go with' in a context of inheritance (*OLD* s.v. 14b) which matches 24 *dominum* and 25 *heres*. We might also hear an allusion to the trees that famously followed the music of Orpheus (cf. 1.24.13 14), especially as Postumus is going to the underworld visited by Orpheus in *Georgics* 4 (cf. introduction to 2.13). **inuisas cupressos** 'detested cypresses', because of their links with death (for *inuisus* similarly cf. 1.34.10 *inuisi* ... *Taenari* with N H's note, and for the funereal and chthonic links of the cypress see *Epod.* 5.18 *cupressos funebris* and Connors 1992 3); like yew trees later, cypresses were planted around Roman graves (and can still be seen as such in Italy). **ulla:** emphatically placed at line start, widely separated from *harum* (hyperbaton; cf. similarly 2.8.1 2 *ulla* ... | *poena*). **breuem dominum:** *dominum* is used here in the legal sense of 'owner', matching the legalistic *sequetur* (juxtaposed) and *heres* (25), while *breuis* here means 'short lived' (cf. 2.3.13, 1.36.16 (both of flowers), *OLD* s.v. 7b). For the idea of the temporary owner moving on in death see *S.* 2.2.129 32 and 171 5, N H here.

25 absumet heres: cf. 2.3.20 *diuitiis potietur heres* (see introduction above for the parallels between the two poems); here a third consecutive stanza begins emphatically with a verbal idea describing the negative consequences of death (cf. 17 *uisendus*, 21 *linquenda*). For this prosaic verb (only here in H., and appropriate with the legalistic term *heres*, 2.3.20 n.) of squandering an inheritance cf. Plaut. *Most.* 235, Val. Max. 8.6.1. Cairns 2009: 22 3 suggests that we are to see a specific reference here to C. Propertius Postumus' heir Propertius Celer, who was bad with money, but the spendthrift heir is a traditional topos in such contexts (see next note). **degener:** the MSS transmit *dignior*, 'worthier to own Postumus's property inasmuch as he used up the Caecuban' (N H), suggesting (they claim) Postumus' 'frugal habits'; but we ought to have a traditionally unworthy and wasteful heir here as at 3.24.61 2 *indignoque pecuniam* | *heredi properet*, *Epod.* 1.34 *discinctus aut perdam nepos* with Watson's note, *S.* 2.2.224 30. Postumus is not over stingy: the great Caecuban wine (for which see N H on 1.20.9) should not be spilled on the pavement but kept for special celebrations, as at 1.37.5 6 *antehac nefas depromere Caecubum* | *cellis auitis*, *Epod.* 9.1 *repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes*. Like Woodman (1967: 49), I am consequently convinced by Campbell's conjecture *degener*, which says exactly what would be expected here, may be echoed at Paul. Nol. *carm.* 26.284 *degener heres*, and would be easily corrupted to the similarly shaped *dignior*.

26 7 seruata centum clauibus: for keys to storage cellars cf. e.g. Cato *Agr.* 16.2, for *seruare* of keeping wine cf. id.114.2; *seruata* here inverts *absumet* with which it is vertically juxtaposed at line start (for the technique cf. 2.8.1 2), while *centum* is a nicely alliterative hyperbole with *clauibus* (for this rhetorical use cf. 2.16.33, 3.8.14, 4.1.15 and 19, 4.2.29, *OLD* s.v. b); the keys are imagined as part of the heir's inheritance, as at *S.* 2.3.145 7. **mero | . . . superbo:** for the vertically juxtaposed noun and adjective in agreement at line end cf. 2.4.13 14 n. As both ancient commentators saw, the epithet reflects the excess and arrogance of the heir himself (for the Horatian hypallage cf. e.g. 1.12.34 5 *superbos | Tarquini fasces*), who recklessly spills the wine in its most valuable and intoxicating undiluted (*mero*) state; *superbus* and *superbum* were both proposed by early readers and have been revived since (see Oslo database), but the text needs no change. **tinget** 'dye' (rather than 'soak' contra *OLD* s.v. 1), imagining wine colouring the pavement, like blood (cf. 3.23.13 *uictima pontificum secures | ceruice tinguet, OLD* s.v. 4). **pauimentum** 'paved floor' of a villa, perhaps in mosaic, as in a similar decadent episode (Antony's carousing in Varro's villa near Cassino) at Cic. *Phil.* 2.105 *natabant pauimenta uino*; H. imagines outrageous scenes in Postumus' own house (21) after his death.

28 pontificum potiore cenis 'outstripping the dinners of the priests', i.e. in luxury; for this use of *potior* in a similarly hyperbolic context cf. 4.1.19 20 *centum potiore signis | munere* with Thomas's note. This phrase forms the culmination of the contemptuous multiple alliteration of *c, p* and *s* in this last stanza (*centum clauibus* . . . | . . . *pauimentum superbo* | *pontificum potiore cenis*). For pontifical dinners as a byword for luxury at Rome cf. N H on 1.37.2. A comparative adjective features regularly as an element of closural rhetoric in the final lines of H.'s odes: cf. 1.18.16, 1.19.16, 1.36.20, 2.1.40, 3.1.48.

15 SUMMARY

Luxurious house building will soon take over most ploughland, with pro ductive agriculture being replaced by artificial horticulture and fishponds (1 10). This was not the way of early Rome, where public wealth much exceeded private riches; private homes were turf huts, while only public buildings were made of stone (10 20).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

In both its moralising theme and its lack of a specific addressee or occasion (cf. also 3.24), this brief poem (like 2.18) anticipates in shorter

form the Roman Odes of Book 3, a recurring element in the later poems of Book 2 (see Introduction, section 3): in particular, the topic of over elaborate building absorbing the countryside can be found at 3.1.32 7 and 45 8, while the specific contrast between virtuous early Rome and its decadent modern counterpart is matched at 3.6.32 48, and the closing emphasis on temple building will be reprised at 3.6.1 4. These two themes are closely linked by the long established view that austere pea sant living was a key part of early Rome's moral virtue, which was endan gered by the later development of material urban luxury through its Mediterranean expansion and contacts with Greece and the East, though in this poem the idea of foreign contagion is not overtly mentioned; such anxieties are particularly common in late Republican and Augustan literature (see e.g. Harrison 2005b). This poem follows interestingly on 2.14, where Postumus' villa and tree groves (though it is not clear whether the latter are productive or not) might embody the kind of wealth attacked here; the two are consistent in that 2.14 argues that such personal wealth is useless in the face of death, 2.15 that it is bad for society when taken to excess. There is a clear pairing with 2.16 (see Introduction, section 3), where the theme of the virtues of the austere life and the potential corruption of wealth are repeated (see introduc tion to that poem).

The poem has a simple structure, with a pivotal point close to the middle, at the caesura of line 10 (for such central pivots in the *Odes* see Harrison 2004), where we move from a description of modern decadence to a contrast with ancestral austerity, a theme which then occupies the rest of the poem (10 20). The end of the poem contrasts pointedly with its beginning: the description of individual luxury building overcoming public projects such as the Lucrine lake (3 4 n.) is set against the early Roman practice of modest personal housing and sumptuous community buildings such as temples. The first part of the poem is presented as a prophecy about the near future, with all the verbs of lines 1 10 in the future tense (*relinquent, uisentur, euincet, spargent, excludet*); a negative state of affairs will follow (5 *tum*, 9 *tum*) if (it is implied) the undesirable tendency is not diverted. The turn at line 10 to the past as a moral example to solve current problems and to avoid a worse future is a move repeated at 3.6.33 44 (see 10 n.), where simple ancestral ways are again identified as better than current behaviour.

One feature of the poem is the number of elegantly varied three term lists: the disastrous future is illustrated by the three elements of agricultural land being built on, massive pleasure pools and sterile ornamental trees (1 5), followed by three further specific types of artificial and non productive scented plants violet, myrtle, and bay (5 10). Counterposed to these is another three term list of exemplars of austere virtue from the Roman past Romulus, Cato and

unspecified *ueteres* (10 12). These ternary structures are then suc ceeded by a set of binary structures in the final two stanzas of the poem, which present a series of contrasts, setting public against pri vate wealth in early Rome (13 14), extravagant modern private build ing against the modest turf homes of Roman ancestors (14 17), and these modest homes against the more elaborate public buildings of early Rome (17 20).

The moralising of this poem is consistent with Augustan policy of the 20s BCE on the development of the built environment of Rome and Italy and with the *princeps*' personal lifestyle. In the *Res Gestae* (20.4) Augustus famously claims to have restored 82 temples in his sixth consulship (28 BCE), work which presumably continued for some years afterwards; this programme is referred to at 3.6.1 4. This was also the time in which the Mausoleum of Augustus was being constructed (Marcellus was buried there in 23: Virg. *A.* 6.873 4), and the temple of Palatine Apollo with its associated complex had been opened not long before in 28 (1.31.1 with N H, Prop. 2.31). This ostentatious magnificence on the public level was matched by an equally ostentatious austerity on the personal level: his own house, though on the grand Palatine, could be presented as a modest home (Suet. *Aug.* 72.1 *aedibus modicis ... et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis*) with modest fittings (*Aug.* 73.1), and he is said to have disliked large country houses or *praetoria*, going so far as to demolish an excessive one built by his disgraced granddaughter Julia (*Aug.* 72.3). The poem's allusion to the Lucrine lake (3 4 n.) also presents a similar contrast between private and public building projects, since the lake was incorporated into the Portus Iulius complex created as preparation for the Naulochus naval campaign by Agrippa in 37/6 (*Aug.* 16.1, Dio 48.50.1 4), a public work celebrated as an Italian asset by Virgil in the *Georgics* a few years before H.'s poem (*G.* 2.161 4, Harrison 2007b: 146 7); this national project presented a neat contrast with the neighbouring luxurious pleasure villas of the Bay of Naples (for which see e.g. Mattusch 2009, Zarmakoupi 2013). The advocacy of public over private wealth is an established topos of Roman ideology (see N H on 2.15.15); cf. e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 76 *odit populus Romanus priuatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit,* and for the opposite as undesirable Sall. *Cat.* 52.22 (Cato speaks) *pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque auaritiam, publice egestatem, priuatim opulentiam*; for the impact of the debate on this poem in particular see Romano 1991 3.

Select bibliography

Romano 1991 3; Leach 1997: 115 17.

1 Iam: introducing a prediction of imminent catastrophe as at Virg. *A.* 4.566 7. **aratro iugera:** the juxtaposition evokes the derivation of *iugerum*

(= 240 x 120 Roman feet) from *iugum* or ploughing yoke (cf. Pliny *NH* 18.9, Maltby 1991: 316); the further juxtaposition of *iugera* and *regiae* sets an old Roman term against the unRoman idea of kingship (cf. next note and 2.2.21). For the virtue and simplicity of ploughing in Roman culture cf. N H here and the great general Cincinnatus, famously 'called from the plough' to rescue Rome as dictator in 458 BCE (Cic. *Fin.* 2.12, Col. 1.pr.13).

1 2 regiae | moles: *regius* is here invidious, 'fit for a king' with the idea that kings and kingly excess are not welcome at Rome (for the negative use of the adj. cf. *OLD* s.v. 5b), while *moles* refers to massive structures (*OLD* s.v. 3a) as at 3.29.10 *molem propinquam nubibus arduis*, here with the idea of unhealthy size (cf. 3.4.65 *mole ruit sua*). **relinquent:** invidious personification the build ings behave like their greedy developers (cf. similarly 2.18.1 4).

2 4 undique latius | extenta uisentur Lucrino | stagna lacu ' on every side pools will be seen stretching more widely than the Lucrine lake', an invidious exaggeration (*undique, latius*). For *extendere* of territorial expan sion cf. *AP* 208 *agros extendere*, while *uisentur* perhaps implies touristic visits to see remarkable sights (cf. 2.14.17 n.). *stagna* (the word occurs only here in H.) refers to private ornamental pools, often part of villa design (e.g. the 75 m+ long example in the so called 'Villa of Poppaea' at Oplontis: see Thomas and Clarke 2011), here presented as perversely exceeding in size the public project of the Lucrine lake (*c.*500 m long) in Campania, next to many luxurious villas (see introduction above).

4 platanusque caelebs: like *stagna, platanus* points to the artificial gardens of the rich (see N H here for the ornamental plane tree in Roman gardens, adding the plane tree of Atedius Melior, set by a villa pool, at Statius *Silv.* 2.3.39 42 with van Dam's note). *caelebs* makes a further con trast with productive agriculture, referring to a 'bachelor' tree not used to train vines in an agricultural 'marriage' (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2, 5 *ulmos* with n.) as well as to the fruitless nature of this particular tree (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.70 *steriles platani*).

5 euincet ulmos: like *relinquent, euincet* is an invidious personification (the useless plane overcomes the useful elm in imagined arboreal competi tion); the compound verb, poetic in colour (cf. Tib. 1.7.6, Virg. *E.* 7.32) is found only here and at *S.* 2.3.250 in H. The elm tree was thought of as the 'husband' of the vine, widely used to support it in agriculture cf. *Ep.* 1.16.3 *amicta uitibus ulmo*, Catull. 62.64 [*uitis*] *ulmo coniuncta marita*; for the practical details cf. e.g. Spurr 1986: 6 7. **tum:** rare in H. (14x), esp. in *Odes* (4x, two of which are in this poem). Here it picks up the future prophetic time indicated by 1 *iam*; for *tum* similarly in prophecies cf. *S.* 2.5.66, Virg. *E.* 4.34, *A.* 1.291.

5 6 uiolaria et | myrtus et omnis copia narium: rising tricolon with a generalising last element, appropriately suggesting abundance (cf. *copia*). Violets and myrtle are ornamental scented plants (cf. *narium*), here contrasted with the more functional and edible olive (7); for uiolet beds as part of a flower garden cf. N H here and Virg. *G.* 4.32, for the frivolous and luxurious associations of myrtle cf. N H here and on 1.38.5. *copia* may recall the same noun of an abundance of aromatic plants at Virg. *G.* 4.31 *grauiter spirantis copia thymbrae*; *omnis copia narium* means 'every kind of abundance for the nostrils' for *omnis* in this sense cf. *Ep.* 1.5.2 *holus omne, OLD* s.v. 6, for the genitive *narium* cf. [Quint.] *Decl. Mai.* 8.7 *gaudium . . . oculorum*, and note that the more prosaic *nasus* occurs in H. only in the *sermones.*

7 spargent . . . **odorem:** scattering not the expected seed like self seeding crops, but merely sterile perfumes (so N H).

7 8 oliuetis . . . **| fertilibus domino priori:** the sites of productive olive groves ('oliuetis: hoc est, ubi oliueta fuerunt' (Porph.); for the technical term *oliuetum*, only here in H., cf. Cato *Agr.* 44, Varro *RR* 1.4.2) are to be turned into sterile scent gardens for self indulgent new owners (*priori* is emphatically contrastive in last position); N H well compare [Quint.] *Decl. Mai.* 13.2 *quod ciues pascebat nunc diuitis unius hortus est.*

9 tum: again heading its clause and in prophetic mode as at 5 (n.), echoing *iam* (1) in stanza initial position. **spissa ramis laurea:** as N H note, *spissa ramis* suggests a Greek compound adj. in πυκνο such as πυκνόφυλλος, 'with thick foliage' ([Arist.] *Pr.* 927a3) or πυκνόκαρπος, 'thick with fruit' (Lucian *Am.* 12); for *spissus* similarly of tree canopies cf. 4.3.11 *spissae nemorum comae.* For the extensive shade of the bay tree cf. Virg. *G.* 2.18 19 and N H here (who also note its aromatic quality, matching the violets and myrtle of 5 6, and its use in pleasure gardens so in H's own villa at 2.7.19); here its provision of indolent and peaceful shade contrasts with the traditional use of bay wreaths for triumphal garlands celebrating active achievements in war at Rome (cf. 2.1.13, 2.2.22, 3.14.2).

9 10 feruidos | excludet ictus: *ictus* with its primary sense of 'blows' here perhaps plays on the military aspect of the bay tree (above), though it is also common of the sun's impacting rays (cf. *OLD* s.v. 5, N H here); likewise, *feruidus* could also mean 'emotionally heated, angry' (*OLD* s.v. 6 and 7) as well as just 'hot' (*OLD* s.v. 1), and *excludet* could suggest that the tree is like a shield in battle keeping off the rays of the sun like blows (cf. Statius *Silv.* 1.2.154 *excludunt radios* [sun], *Theb.* 7.270 *excludere uulnera*). As in *laurea*, the language of honourable Roman war is here transferred to luxurious Roman leisure.

10 12 The three fold list of examples of antique virtue ('not so was it ordained under the leadership of Romulus and unshorn Cato, or by the standard of the ancients') forms a neat counterpoint to the three fold lists of decadent aromatic plants at 5 6. *auspiciis* goes with *Romuli* as well as *Catonis* (the two proper names in the genitive balance each other at line end).

10 11 non ita Romuli | praescriptum: understand *est* (cf. Virg. *A.* 2.583 *non ita* (sc. *est*)); *non ita* marks the central turning point in the poem (introduction above), closely paralleled by the similar contrastive turn from decadent present to better past in another moralising poem at 3.6.33 44, especially 3.6.33 4 *non his iuuentus orta parentibus | infecit aequor sanguine Punico,* while *praescriptum* suggests legal ordinance (*OLD* s.v. *praescribo* 5, *Digest* 44.3.10 *praescriptum est*), matching the technical colour of *auspiciis* (12). Romulus is said to have distributed small allotments of two *iugera* each at Rome's foundation (Varro *RR* 1.10.2); the traditional Romulean smallholding is similarly contrasted with the luxurious land holdings of his own day by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 18.7), and for Romulus representing a type of simple country living cf. Virg. *G.* 2.533, Prop. 4.10.17 22. **intonsi Catonis:** for the association of long, unkempt hair with antique virtue at Rome cf. 1.12.41 *incomptis Curium capillis* with N H, Tib. 2.1.34 *intonsis ... auis* with Maltby's note (early Romans did not shave); the Greek Stoic philosophers whom Cato followed were generally so depicted (Zanker 1995: 92 102), though Roman busts of Cato himself tend to show him with close cropped hair. M. Porcius Cato (234 149 BCE, consul 195, censor 184) was viewed as the paragon of ancestral Roman virtue and Stoic austerity (for him in H. cf. 3.21.11 *prisci Catonis, S.* 1.2.32, *Ep.* 1.19.13 14, 2.2.117, *AP* 56); particularly relevant in the context of this ode is his moralising about over luxurious villas in his lost speeches (174, 185 *ORF* (= Malcovati 1955); see N H here, Nepos *Cato* 2.4) and his advocacy of functional farming in the *De Agricultura* (on the latter see Astin 1978: 189 203).

12 auspiciis: in the transferred sense of 'leadership' (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.254, *OLD* s.v. 4), but also implying the literal taking of auspices (bird divination) which belonged to both men via public office (Romulus as king, Cato as magistrate); Romulus famously sought auspices at Rome's foundation (Ennius *Ann.* 71 91Sk., cf. Livy 1.6.4 7.2), while Cato was well known for complaining about the neglect of augury (Cic. *Div.* 1.28 with Pease's note). **ueterumque norma:** *ueteres* means 'men of old' as at *S.* 2.661 and *Ep.* 2.1.23, while *norma* is a highly prosaic word, found only once in poetry (Lucr. 4.514) other than here and *AP* 72 (Axelson 1945: 102); its meta phorical sense here of 'standard, pattern' (*OLD* s.v. 2; the literal sense of the word is 'set square', *OLD* s.v.1) suggests undeviating virtue, and is used

by Cicero of the uncompromising Stoicism of Cato the Censor's descen dant and imitator Cato Uticensis (*Mur.* 3 *M. Catoni vitam ad certam rationis normam derigenti*).

13 14 priuatus illis census erat breuis, | commune magnum: *census* = 'officially assessed wealth' (*OLD* s.v.3), a technical term (cf. *auspiciis* and *praescriptum*) found only here in the *Odes*; *breuis* has its basic sense of 'of small extent' (*OLD* s.v.3), while *commune* like *census* is a prosaic noun (only here in H.), a legal term meaning 'common property' (*OLD* s.v. 1a). N H think that there is an inconsistent variation of the public/private contrast in the two stanzas and consider *probatus* for *priuatus* in 13 given *priuatis* in 15, but this is unnecessary; the second use of *priuatus* reinforces the first, 'private wealth was small, public great; there was no private ostentatious building, that was reserved for public projects'. For the long history of praising public as superior to private wealth in Greek and Roman culture see introduction, above.

14 16 nulla decempedis | metata . . . . | porticus 'no colonnade measured out by ten foot rules': for *metor* (the part. is passive here) of marking out buildings cf. *OLD* s.v. 2, for the *decempeda* of the land surveyor *OLD* s.v., Dilke 1971: 67, 63 (both are prosaic technical terms). *porticus*: again a prosaic term, only here in the *Odes*. For the luxuriousness of a private colonnade see N H here; there may be an implied contrast with the publicly available Athenian *porticus* (Greek *Stoa*) of the Stoics (cf. *S.* 2.3.44 *Chrysippi porticus*), advocates of austerity followed by Cato (cf. 11), as well as with the public porticoes of Augustan building projects such as the Palatine complex (*Res Gestae* 4.1 *templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus*). **priuatis opacam** . . . **| excipiebat Arcton** 'captured the shady north for the benefit of private citizens'. *priuatis* is emphatic repetition, picking up 13 *priuatus* (see 13 14 n.); for the two term polyptoton (case variation) in H. cf. Bo 1960: 400. For *excipere* of objects or buildings receiving or 'trapping' the weather cf. Sen. *Q Nat.* 4b.11.4 (sun), *Ep.* 55.7 (breeze); also *captare* at Virg. *E.* 1.52 (below). For the possible echo of its use of hunting animals given *Arcton* cf. N H here. *Arcton* (Greek accusative) = 'Great Bear' (the constellation) and thence the coolness of its northern location, a bold transferred use found only here (*OLD* s.v. 3); *opacam* points to the common association between shade and coolness (cf. Virg. *E.*1.52 *frigus captabis opacum*). For similar northern orientation of a house colonnade cf. Sidonius *carm.* 22.179 *porticus ad gelidos patet hinc aestiua Triones*, and for the Roman concern with building orientation in general see N H here. The moralising point is that such orientation allows artificial and luxurious independence of the weather: cf. Sen. *Con. ex.* 5.5 *ut domus ad caelum omne conuersae brumales aestus habeant, aestiua frigora.*

17 nec . . . **spernere:** for the converse (*spernere* of rejecting wealth) cf. 3.3.49 50 *aurum* . . . | . . . *spernere*, and for a similar moralising exhortation cf. Tib. 1.1.37 8 *neu uos e paupere mensa* | *dona nec e puris spernite fictili bus.* **fortuitum** . . . **caespitem** 'turf that just happened to be in the way'; for *fortuitus* of free and easily encountered building materials cf. Petr. 135.8 v.9 *fortuitoque luto*, Sen. *Ep.* 90.8 *fortuitis tegi. caespes* is collective singular as at Virg. *E.*1.68 *congestum caespite culmen*; for turf as a basic building material in Roman culture see N H, who also suggest that here it may allude to the thatched *casa Romuli*, the primitive supposed home of Romulus preserved in two versions in H.'s time on the Capitol (Virg. *A.* 8.654; Vitr. 2.1.5, Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.5) and the Palatine (Prop. 4.1.9, Dion.Hal. 1.79.11, F. Coarelli *LTUR* (= Steinby 1993 2000) 1.241 2); thus *caespitem* (17) may evoke Romulus (10) just as *porticus* (16) may evoke Cato (14 16 n.).

18 leges sinebant: for the personification cf. Ter. *Phorm.*292 *leges non sinunt*, Ov. *Ars* 3.58 *leges et sua iura sinunt. leges* matches the legalistic *praescriptum* (11); as N H point out, the claim is rhetorical as there were no known building laws in early Rome, though there were some in the Augustan period, if only on party walls (Vitr. 2.17.1) rather than overall costs of buildings (cf. Vitr. 10.1 2).

18 19 publico | sumptu: more official Roman phraseology, perhaps (N H point out that Cicero uses *sumptu publico* regularly, 4x, all in *Verr.*); *publico* balances *priuatis* (15) cf. 13 14 n. **iubentes:** more personification of the laws, inverting *nec .. sinebant*; for *iubere* of *leges* cf. Cic. *Parad.* 4.31, Sall. *Cat.* 51.22, Prop. 4.7.11, Ov. *Ars* 3.614.

19 20 deorum | templa: another Ciceronian phrase in this order, jux taposition and number (5x so in Cic., otherwise only 3x in classical Latin). **nouo decorare saxo:** *nouus* means 'fresh, not recycled' (cf. Ov. *Her.* 21.218 *noui* . . . *marmoris*), contrary to a common practice in Roman building (cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.147 *unam columnam efficere ab integro nouam nullo lapide rediuiuo*). *decorare* might suggest stone veneer over rubble walling, a common Roman technique (cf. Vitr. 2.8.7); for this verb of adorning a temple cf. Plin. *NH* 36.38 *Agrippae Pantheum decorauit.*

16 SUMMARY

Tranquillity is the supreme object of prayer of all humans it is above all price (1 8). Riches cannot bring peace of mind; the modest life is the least anxious (9 16). Why do we strive so much in life and seek to travel? We cannot run away from care, even on foreign expeditions (17 24). We should be content with what we presently have we

cannot expect perfection (25 8). You and I do not know whether death will come swiftly or tardily (29 32). Though you have the plea sures of wealth and its trappings, I have my modest property and my elite status as poet (33 40).

Metre

Sapphics (see Introduction, section 7).

This poem can be viewed as paired with its predecessor 2.15 (see Introduction, section 3): both focus on the good life as one of peace and modest austerity and argue for its superiority to the life of striving and material wealth, and both look forward to the Roman Odes of Book 3 (for 2.15 see introduction to that poem, for 2.16 see 21 4 n.). Unlike 2.15, 2.16 has a specific addressee, Pompeius Grosphus, also recommended by H. in an epistle to Iccius, another friend and Agrippa's agent in Sicily (*Ep.* 1.12), as a decent man worth helping who will not make excessive demands (1.12.22 3). From the ode we can deduce that Grosphus pos sessed wealth from Sicilian landholdings (cf. 33 4 below), and his name has clear Sicilian links before and after H.'s time (see N H's introduction to this poem, Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.56, Silius 14.211). Like Sallustius (2.2), Dellius (2.3) and Postumus (2.14), Grosphus is a rich addressee who is in some sense challenged with a poem pointing out the limits of materialism and the benefits of austerity. There may be some suggestion in the deployment of the mythical figures of Achilles and Tithonus in lines 29 32 that he is somewhat younger than H. (29 32 n.). There is little indication of date in the poem: the wars hinted at in 5 8 suggest the general situation of the 20s BCE (5 n., 6 n.).

The structure of this ode is careful and detailed. It can be divided into three sections, of four, three and three stanzas each. In the first two sections a problem or issue is set out and then a solution proposed: lines 1 12 focus on the universal human search for tranquillity amid the stress of life and 13 16 point to the peace of the modest existence, while lines 17 24 suggest the inevitability of care and stress, and 25 8 argue that we should instead enjoy what we have and not expect perfection. The third and final section turns to poet and addressee, contrasting them (perhaps) in age and (certainly) in material wealth and lifestyle, and ending empha tically with the picture of the poet's life which is implied to be superior (39 40 n.). The turn to the poet at the end is one of several elements here which (as in 2.15) anticipate the Roman Odes of the next book; cf. the similarly concluding 3.1.45 8, which likewise promotes the poet's modest existence against ostentatious wealth, though the same turn is also found at the end of the first *Epode* (1.25 34). There is an element of

ring composition in the presentation of H.'s retired poetic existence at the end of the poem, his personal version of the *otium* at the beginning of the poem.

Ternary structures are found at micro level also. Lines 1 6 identify by proper nouns three geographical areas where those who are troubled in fact or spirit long for tranquillity (the Aegean, Thrace and the Parthians); these are in order of distance east from Rome, and the second two look to actual or potential theatres of war. Lines 7 8 then list three types of costly sub stances (jewels, purple cloth and gold), while lines 9 12 list three further high value items desirable for ambitious Romans (rich treasure, lictors as a symbol of the consulship, and coffered ceilings). Lines 17 20 present a series of three rhetorical questions, linked by anaphora/polyptoton (*quid* ... ? *quid* ... ? *quis* ... ?), while lines 29 32 contain a series of four figures related to age of death (Achilles, Tithonus, the poet and Grosphus). Binary structures are also prominent: lines 21 4 contain two pairings, one of swift modes of transport (ships and horses), one of similes for speed (stags and winds), while the last two stanzas with their two pairings of proper names of places and deities balance the paired geographical proper names at the start of the poem (*Siculae/Afro, Graiae* ... *Camenae/Parca*), as well as picking up the poem's earlier contrast between wealth and its attendant anxieties and the modest life with its natural tranquillity (39 40 n.).

As in 2.14 (see introduction to that poem), the ode echoes a famous passage of Lucretius, suitably for a poem which argues in Epicurean manner against worldly ambition and advocates peace of mind (*atar axia,* cf. 1 n.). This time the echoes are extensive (cf. Giesecke 2000: 134 40), and the passage is the proem to Book 2 of the *DRN* (2.1 61), also alluded to in 2.18 (see introduction to that poem, and for H.'s close engagement with Lucretius in Book 2 see Introduction, section 4). Like H.'s poem, Lucretius' book begins with sailors caught in a storm, and then alludes to war as another context of disturbance before turning to political and material ambition as a further source of anxiety (*DRN* 2.1 13):

Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora uentis
e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
non quia uexari quemquamst iucunda uoluptas,
sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suauest.
suaue etiam belli certamina magna tueri
per campos instructa tua sine parte pericli; 5
sed nihil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
despicere unde queas alios passimque uidere
errare atque uiam palantis quaerere uitae, 10

certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri.

Lucretius concentrates on the figure of the fortunate safe observer of these disturbances, while H. focuses on the panic and emotion of the participants in them, perhaps implicitly modifying a potentially inhumane stance (just as in 2.14 on the mourning family of *DRN* 3.894 901; see introduction to that poem). His triple use of *suaue* here is picked up by H.'s triple *otium*; Lucretius uses the word only twice at the start of the line, capped by H.'s use at the start of three lines.

Likewise, H.'s theme of the needlessness of wealth, his stress on the simple life and his specifically Roman example of coffered ceilings looks to *DRN* 2.20 53, especially 20 8:

ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca uidemus 20
esse opus omnino: quae demant cumque dolorem,
delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint
gratius interdum, neque natura ipsa requirit,
si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes
lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris, 25
lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,
nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa . . .

H. picks up further elements from this Lucretian proem: several of the terms in the two lists of valuable or desirable items at 7 12 match Lucretius' text exactly in form (7 *purpura* ~ 2.52 *purpureai*, 8 *auro* ~ 2.51 *auro*, 9 *gazae* ~ 2.37 *gazae*), while the idea that care follows man wherever he goes (22 *Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit*) plainly expands the Lucretian *curaeque sequaces* (2.48). Horace's version of the Lucretian diatribe is distinctly moderated: a simple contrast between the riches of an aristocratic *domus* and a moderate inherited sufficiency (9 16) replaces the earlier poet's more urgent dichotomy between the riches of an urban millionaire and the simplicity of country life in a *locus amoenus.* Lastly, the idea that we cannot distract ourselves from mental care by travel looks to an equally prominent passage of Lucretius, the end of Book 3 (21 4 n.).

The Lucretian emphasis on modesty of lifestyle is here (as elsewhere in H. cf. Mette 1961) closely connected with modest Callimachean poetics: there is an evident link between the literal *mensa tenuis* of line 14 and the *spiritum . . . tenuem* of poetry in line 38 (see notes on both). The language of the final stanza makes clear that the 'Greek Muse' evoked here is not so much the specific Aeolic lyric of Sappho and Alcaeus, but rather the

slimness of Callimachus' approach to poetry in general (28 n., 39 40 n.). As often, such programmatic statements are highlighted at the end of a poem.

Finally, this is one of the few poems in which H. combines allusions to the two greatest poets of the previous generation at Rome, Catullus as well as Lucretius. As in *Odes* 1.22, H. uses a poem in Sapphics to pick up poetry in Sapphics by Catullus (there Catullus 11 and 51; see Putnam 2006: 35 8); commentators have often pointed to the parallels here (in addition to commentaries see esp. Pöschl 1970: 122 42, Giesecke 2000: 134 40, Putnam 2006: 90 1). The triple use of the word *otium* in lines 1 8 recalls Catullus 51 (13 16):

otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est:
otio exsultas nimiumque gestis
otium et reges prius et beatas
perdidit urbes.

H. outdoes his predecessor by repeating the same word not simply three times but three times in the same case and in the same line position, and by re interpreting the term: for Catullus *otium* suggests destructive and self indulgent leisure, while for H. it represents peace of mind, the highest value of Hellenistic philosophy (1 n.).

Select bibliography

Pöschl 1970: 122 42; Hubbard 1973: 1 9; Esser 1976: 9 19; Connor 1987: 159 65; Davis 1991: 205 15; Giesecke 2000: 134 40.

1 2 otium: the triple repetition of a noun is unique in H. (Bo 1960: 143), here in the same form and same line position (cf. 5, 6); this is clearly done in order to allude to and outdo Catullus and Lucretius (see above). Here *otium* must mean 'tranquillity', used of calm weather at 1.15.3, and in this line surely evokes the Epicurean imagery of calm weather (γαληνισμός) as a symbol for mental calm and psychic balance (Epicurus *Ep.* 1.84); for *otium* as an Epicurean term cf. Sen. *Dial.* 8.3.3, *Ep.* 68.10, Pliny *NH* 19.51, and for the term in general at Rome see N H on line 5 and André 1962. **diuos rogat:** recalls Lucr. 5.1229 30 (of a military commander embarked on the sea) *non diuum pacem uotis adit ac prece quaesit* | *uentorum pauidus paces animasque secundas?* For similar prayers in a storm cf. 3.29.58 9 with N R, and for *rogare deos* of prayer requests to the gods cf. Catull. 13.13, Ov. *Fast.* 1.722, *Pont.* 1.10.44. The telling Lucretian parallel (evoked by the archaic form *diuos* as well as closely similar content), and the fact that *prensus* can stand as a nominalised participle by itself as often (3.24.5, N H here, Bo 1960: 303), mean that the ingenious conjecture

diues (Jacobson 1996), potentially supported by the picture of the merchant caught in a storm at 1.1.15 18, is unnecessary here. The idea that this is a military man not a merchant fits the allusions to theatres of war in 5 (Thrace) and 6 (Parthia). **prensus** nominalised perf. part., 'the man who is caught' (see above); this verb is found only here in H. (though 7x in Virgil). Here it means 'caught unexpectedly' (*OLD* s.v. 2b) and is a poetic simple form for the usual compound *depre(hen)do* in this sense (*OLD* s.v. 5); for such shifts in H. cf. Bo 1960: 387 9. **in patenti . . . Aegaeo:** for *patens* of the open sea cf. Virg. *G.* 2.41 *pelagoque . . . patenti, OLD* s.v. 2b, and for the stormy Aegaean cf. 3.29.63 *Aegaeos tumultus,* Virg. *A.* 12.365 8, Ov. *Met.* 11. 663 4, Statius *Theb.* 3.432 4. **atra nubes:** for the conjunction before H. cf. Lucr. 6.180, Virg. *G.* 2.308 9, Prop. 2.5.12; *ater* suggests a murky cloud covering (*OLD* s.v. 2a).

3 4 condidit lunam: i.e. preventing navigation by the moon and stars; *condere lunam* is found elsewhere only at Sen. *Ag.* 470, an imitation of this passage it is a variant of the more common *sidera condere* (Virg. *A.* 5.126, Manil. 2.836, Luc. 1.15). **certa . . . sidera** 'constant stars', fixed points for orientation; cf. Tib. 1.9.10 *ducunt instabiles certa sidera naves, OLD* s.v. *certus* 14a. **fulgent . . . nautis** 'shine for the benefit of sailors'; cf. 1.12.27 8 *alba nautis | stella refulsit.*

5 otium: for the term and its repetition cf. 1 n.; here, juxtaposed with its opposite, *bello* (for the technique cf. 2.6.18 n.), and in line 6 next to the hostile *Medi,* the noun clearly also suggests 'peace, not war' cf. 4.15.18, *OLD* s.v. 4a. **bello furiosa Thrace** 'Thrace mad with war'. As N H note, *bello furiosa* suggests a poetic Greek compound adjective such as Ἀρειμανής, 'mad with Ares' (Plut. *Rom.* 17, citing poetry), δοριμανής, 'mad with the spear' (Eur. *Suppl.* 485) or δορίμαργος, 'wild with the spear' (Aesch. *Sept.* 687), while the standard Greek form *Thrace* (Θρᾴκη) is found first in Latin here; the personification points to Thrace's famous female warrior Amazons, popular in Augustan poetry (cf. e.g. Prop. 3.14.13 14, Virg. *A.* 11.659 70, and esp. Virg. *A.* 1.491 *furens Penthesilea*). The mention of Thrace here suggests that it is a current or recent theatre of operations, pointing to a date in the early or middle 20s BCE during or after M. Licinius Crassus' campaign (for the details see N H I.xxxiii). Both here and in line 6 the idea is that Roman enemies wish for peace because of their fear of Rome's military threat: for a later pairing of these same two areas in a similar context cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.226 8 *Raetica nunc praebent Thraciaque arma metum, | nunc petit Armenius pacem, nunc porrigit arcus | Parthus eques timida captaque signa manu.*

6 Medi 'Parthians'; cf. 2.1.31 n. The concern with the Parthian threat fits any point in the 20s BCE; cf. 2.13.17 18 n. **pharetra decori:** balances

the phrase *bello furiosa* in suggesting a Greek poetic compound adjective (for the ablative construction cf. 1.32.12 *crine decorum* and *OLD* s.v. 1a), though there is no exact equivalent extant; cf. καλλίδιφρος, 'fair charioted' (Eur. *Hec.* 467). For Parthian archery cf. 2.13.17 18 n. and for ornamental quivers (here a sign of Eastern luxury?) see N H here, and for the internal rhyme *Medi* ... *decori* cf. 33, 38 and 2.6.5 n.

7 Grosphe: the cognomen's Greek meaning 'javelin' (γρόσφος) seems relevant here just after a mention of weapons, just as it is for the verb *iaculamur* (17 n.).

7 8 non gemmis neque purpura ue | nale neque auro: for the rare division of the word between hendecasyllable and adonaean in the Sapphic stanza (made easier by synapheia, the way in which these lines are read together metrically) cf. 1.2.19 20, 1.25.11 12; its use here in a poem influenced by Catullus (see introduction) may echo the same metrical licence at Catull. 11.11 12 as well as in Sappho (fr. 1.11 12, 31.3 4, 11 12 V.). Likewise, the elision *neque auro* in the adonaean, transmitted by the main MSS but otherwise unparalleled in H., is accep table here since it occurs at the same point in Catullus 11.24 *tactus aratro est* and especially in Sappho (e.g. fr. 1.20, 31.16 V.); most editors since Bentley, however, prefer the *nec auro* of later MSS here. For the idea that immaterial and psychological benefits cannot be purchased see N H here; for the tricolon list of luxuries and its allusions to Lucretius see introduc tion (above), and for gems and gold as useless wealth cf. 3.24.48 *gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile. purpura* represents clothes dyed in that expensive colour (cf. OLD s.v. 3; for the technical details of purple dye see conve niently Watson on *Epod.* 12.21 2). As N H note, the stanza is unified by the idea that military campaigns are motivated by material profit (cf. similarly 1.29.1 2, Prop. 3.4.1, 3.5.1 18) but that neither provides tranquillity.

9 12 This stanza provides a negative list parallel to that of 7 8 (*non* ... *neque* ... *neque* ~ *non* ... *neque*), and the elements in the two correspond: *gazae* picks up *gemmis* (treasure), *lictor* matches *purpura* (the colour of political power: cf. 1.35.12, *OLD* s.v.3b), and *laqueata* ... *tecta* balances *auro* (gilt ceilings, see below).

9 gazae: a Persian word (N H on 1.29.2), appropriately here after 6 *Medi*, first found in Cicero and Catullus (*OLD* s.v.).

9 10 consularis | summouet lictor: the verb goes closely with the juxta posed noun (hence the sense construction of singular verb with two sub jects, cf. e.g. 1.13.6 with N H), since it is (wittily here) the usual term for clearing a crowd to make way for a magistrate (*OLD* s.v. 1b), one role of the

lictors (cf. e.g. Livy 3.35.5, 3.48.8, 8.33.5); here *lictor* represents in con crete form the supreme achievement of the consulship, while *consularis* is poetic adjective for genitive cf. 2.1.34 5 n.

10 11 miseros tumultus | mentis: again a witty pun, both on *tumultus* (a consul's lictor can quiet the 'rioting' of a crowd (*OLD* s.v. 1b, 2a) but cannot dispel the 'agitation' of a disturbed mind (*OLD* s.v. 5)) and on *miser* (Roman rioters are generally from the 'wretched' lower classes (cf. *S.* 1.8.10 *miserae plebi,* Virg. *A.* 1.149 *miserabile vulgus, OLD* s.v. 3b) and mental disturbance is 'unhappy' (Lucr. 2.14 *miseras hominum mentes, OLD* s.v. 2, 3a)). As N H point out, *tumultus* can also cover the storm of the first stanza (cf. 3.29.63 *Aegaeos tumultus*) and the warlike violence of the second (cf. 3.14.14, 4.4.47), gathering all the imagery of these three stanzas together.

11 12 curas . . . | . . . **uolantis:** the noun/participle combination bookends the phrase, appropriately enclosing the area of the flight described. For the personification of *cura* cf. 22 below, 3.1.40 *post equitem sedet atra cura,* and (for the plural) Virg. *A.* 6.274 *ultrices . . . Curae* with Horsfall's note; *curae* seem to be imagined here as small evil winged creatures like the 'miseries' that 'fly' out of Pandora's jar in Hesiod (*W&D* 95 100) see further N H here. **laqueata** . . . **tecta:** the richly coffered ceiling with ornamental panels (*lacunaria*; cf. 2.18.1) which was a luxury item in a Roman house, picked up as such from Lucr. 2.28 (see introduction above); for the phrase cf. Ennius *Trag.* 90 J *tectis caelatis laqueatis,* Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.133 *tectum pulcherrime laqueatum.* Several passages (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.62, Virg. *A.* 1.726, Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.11, Petr. 60.1) make it clear that these were common in *triclinia,* so we may here have a rich dining room contrasting with the modest *mensa* of 14. Pliny *NH* 33.57 reports that such ceilings were regularly gilded in the houses of the rich, so this phrase is likely to match *auro* (8) in the mind of Roman readers.

13 uiuitur paruo bene, cui 'life is well lived on a little by the man for whom'; supply *illi* or *ab illo* of agency with *uiuitur* before *cui* (cf. 2.4.23 n.). For the expression and the idea of the austere good life cf. *S.* 2.2.1 *uiuere paruo* and N H here, for a link of *paruo* with Epicurus see on 14 *tenui* below, and for this theme in H. generally cf. Bramble 1974: 162 3. As N H point out, the passive verb suggests a sententious generalisation (cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 65 *ut diu uiuitur, bene uiuitur*), and the phrase redefines the usual hedonistic idea of *bene uiuere* (cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1.6.56 *si bene qui cenat bene uiuit*) by inserting *paruo* in the middle. For the emphatic initial position of the verb cf. 29 and 2.2.5 n.

13 14 paternum | . . . **salinum:** for the vertical juxtaposition of noun and adj. in the same metrical position cf. 2.4.13 14. This modest *salinum* (a prosaic term only here in H.) is a silver saltcellar (cf. 14 *splendet* with n.),

allowed along with a dish as the sole table silver for Roman generals by the third century BCE moralist Fabricius (Plin. *NH* 33.153; see also N H here); it is respectably inherited (*paternum*), not greedily acquired cf. *Epod.* 2.3 *paterna rura exercet suis.* For the symbolic value of salt as the virtuous poor man's simple condiment at Rome see N H here and Persius' imitation at 3.24 5 *sed rure paterno |est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum.* As N H note, Seneca expands H.'s idea at *Dial.* 9.1.7 *placet . . . argentum graue rustici patris sine ullo nomine artificis, et mensa non uarietate macularum conspi cua.* **splendet:** for this verb of the sheen of silver cf. 2.2.3 4 n. and (also of table silver) *Ep.* 1.5.7 *splendet . . . supellex.* **in mensa tenui:** a modest table such as the *mensa tripes* of *S.* 1.3.13 (see Gowers' note); *tenui* (picking up *paruo*) means 'respectably austere' as at *S.* 2.3.53 *sordidus a tenui uictu distabit,* and a *tenuis* lifestyle is linked with Epicurus by Cicero, also using *paruo* (13 n. above), at *Tusc.* 5.89: *hic uero ipse quam paruo est contentus! nemo de tenui uictu plura dixit. mensa tenuis* in the more general sense of 'modest diet' in H. (for this feature cf. e.g. 1.31.15 16 with N H) has been plausibly linked with his similarly slender Callimachean poetics (Mette 1961), clearly referred to in *tenuem* (line 38).

15 leuis somnos 'gentle slumbers', i.e. sleep free from cares, contrasting with the traditional anxious insomnia of the rich (cf. *Epod.* 2.28 *somnos . . . leuis* with Watson's note and N H here); *leuis* thus picks up both *paruo* and *tenui* as indicating a modest lifestyle.

15 16 timor . . . | . . . aufert: for fear as a sleep depriver cf. e.g. 3.1.17 21, Ov. *Her.* 10.13, *P.* 3.6.55, Publ. Syr. M 10 *metus cum uenit, rarus habet somnus locum.* **cupido | sordidus:** the pairing of fear and desire as evils to be avoided recalls Lucr. 6.25 (Epicurus) *finem statuit cuppedinis atque timoris* (cf. further N H here); for erotic insomnia cf. McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.2.1 4. As N H point out, *sordidus* contrasts with *splendet* on the literal level, though here it is used metaphorically for 'shameful' desires (cf. *OLD* s.v. 7).

17 18 quid breui fortes iaculamur aeuo | multa? 'Why do we boldly make many casts over the course of our brief life?'; for the triple rhetorical questions of this stanza with polyptoton (*quid . . . ? quid . . . ? quis . . . ?*) cf. introduction above (note that each question begins at a different point in the line). *breui fortes* is a pointed oxymoron (2.6.18 n.) juxtaposing human courage with the brevity of life that makes it futile (the same contrast that is expressed by the polar opposites *breui* and *multa*). For a closely similar rhetorical question cf. 2.11.11 12 *quid aeternis minorem | consiliis animum fatigas?*, and for the general theme cf. N H here; as they note, Seneca quotes similar lines (with a similar oxymoron) from an anonymous poet at *NQ* 3 praef. 3 *'tollimus ingentes animos et maxima paruo | tempore*

molimur'. **breui** . . . **aeuo:** ablative of extension over time (cf. e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.6.13 *omni . . . uita*), and clearly referring to the shortness of a single human life as at *S.* 2.6.97 *aeui breuis, Ep.* 2.1.144 *breuis aeui* (for *aeuum* = *uita* cf. 2.2.5 n.). **fortes iaculamur:** for the first person plural drawing in the reader as a fellow mortal cf. 2.14.10 *uescimur* with n. Here the verb draws in Grosphus too, since as commentators note it clearly puns on his name 'javelin' (γρόσφος) as the standard term (*OLD* s.v.1) for casting a spear (*iaculum*); for a similar pun on the name of an addressee cf. 2.14.1 n. **multa:** the word is rhetorically separated by enjambment at the end of its question ('why do we make casts at all, let alone many casts?').

18 19 quid terras alio calentes | sole mutamus? 'why do we take in exchange lands warm with a different sun?'. For *sole calere* cf. *Ov. Fast.* 3.531, Mart. 12.28.15; the ablative of exchange understood with *mutamus* (e.g. *patria*) is elided here (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2a). The phrase closely picks up the recent Virg. *G.* 2.511 12 *exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant* | *atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem*; there as in the similar hot destinations at *E.* 1.63 *sitientes ibimus Afros* the exile is compelled, but here and in 19 20 it seems to be voluntary: one could paraphrase 'in our search for tranquillity we misguidedly choose to do what is otherwise inflicted on us as punishment'.

19 20 patriae quis exul | se quoque fugit? 'which exile from his own land has (in that process) escaped himself too?', i.e. none of them; for the Grecising gen. of *patriae exul*, the standard construction with φυγάς, 'exile [from]', cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.189, *TLL* v.2.2100.84 6. This is the moral idea that we travel or pursue other distractions to escape ourselves but can never do so since we remain the same person with the same inner anxieties, famously set out by Lucretius at the end of *DRN* 3 (1053 75), esp. 3.1068 9 *hoc se quisque modo fugit, at quem scilicet, ut fit,* | *effugere haud potis est* (cf. Giesecke 2000: 138) and deployed by H. in several other places: *Ep.* 1.11.27 *caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt,* 1.14.13 *in culpa est animus qui se non effugit umquam,* and *S.* 2.7.111 13, which provides the link to *Cura* in the next stanza, *teque ipsum uitas fugitiuus et erro,* | *iam uino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam,* | *frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.* For further material see N H here.

21 4 This stanza is close to 3.1.37 40:

sed Timor et Minae
scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque
decedit aerata triremi et
post equitem sedet atra Cura.

Note 21 *scandit* ~ 38 *scandunt,* 21 *aeratas . . . nauis* ~ 39 *aerata triremi,* 22 *Cura* ~ 40 *Cura,* 22 *equitum* ~ 40 *equitem.* Some earlier critics proposed the

excision of the stanza on the grounds of this similarity (see Oslo database), but it forms part of a larger pattern linking the later poems of Book 2 with the Roman Odes (see Introduction, p. 7) and should be kept here.

21 **scandit:** first of embarking on a boat here (*OLD* s.v. 2b); N H plausibly suggest the colouring in this context of an unwanted intruder cf. 2.19.22, Virg. *A.* 2.237, Liv.4.2.14. **aeratas** ... **nauis:** bronze beaked warships (cf. Caes. *Civ.* 2.3.1, Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.223). Though *Ep.* 1.1.93 makes it clear that a rich man could own a private warship, the military *turmas equitum* (22) suggests that the travel here by boat and on horseback is envisaged as taking place in a military context (this is not so evidently so in 3.1.37 40 above). The suggestion then is that making war, a standard and regular Roman activity, cannot act as a diversion from a man's deep cares.

21 2 **uitiosa** ... **Cura:** for psychological conditions as 'unhealthy' (*OLD* s. v. *uitiosus* 1) cf. *Ep.* 1.1.85 *uitiosa libido*, Cic. *Tusc.* 4.14 *perturbationes* ... *uitiosae*; for the personification of *cura* in H. cf. 11 n. **nec** ... **relinquit** 'does not leave alone'; for this euphemistic litotes of dogged sinister pur suit cf. 3.4.77 8 *incontinentem nec Tityi iecur | relinquit ales*, and for the idea cf. 3.2.31 2 *raro antecedentem scelestum | deseruit pede Poena claudo* (again with a personification) and N H here. **turmas equitum** 'squads of cavalry', Roman military terminology; cf. *OLD* s.v. *turma* and for the conjunction cf. Caes. *Gall.* 7.88.1, Sall. *Jug.* 65.2, Livy 2.47.3. With *nauis* (21) the term suggests Cura's domination of both land and sea (so Porphyrio); cf. similarly 1.6.3 *nauibus aut equis* with N H's note.

23 4 **ocior ceruis et agente nimbos | ocior Euro:** the pairing of brief similes for speed is an epic technique that goes back to Homer; cf. N H here and Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.247 8. The first of these images is found at Plaut. *Poen.* 530 and Catull. 64.341 before H., the second (in exactly the same words) twice in Virgil (*A.* 8.223, 12.733). *agente nimbos* recalls the Homeric νεφεληγερέτα, 'cloud gatherer' (*Il.* 1.511 etc.) as N H note, though *ago* means 'drive' here (*OLD* s.v.1b). The general epic colouring of these last two lines fits the context of war (an epic subject) suggested above (21 n.).

25 6 **laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est | oderit curare** 'let the mind, happy for the present, be reluctant to worry about what is beyond'. For the Epicurean injunction to enjoy the present cf. e.g. 1.11.8 *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero*, 3.8.27 *dona praesentis cape laetus horae*, and N H here. *in praesens* (sc. *tempus*) and *quod ultra est* are balancing prosaic expressions (for the first cf. e.g. Cic. *Ep. Brut.* 23.10, Sall. *Cat.* 16.3, for the second Quintilian 8.4.5), befitting the down to earth message, while for the weak sense of *odi* cf. 1.38.1, *OLD* s.v. b; *curare* picks up *Cura* in 22,

suggesting that the persistent Care can be resisted by the right mental attitude.

26 7 et amara lento | temperet risu 'and temper bitter circumstances with an untroubled smile'; the image of *temperet* is that of taking the edge off bitter wine by mixture (see N H's note on 1.20.11). For *lentus* = 'untroubled' cf. Virg. *E.* 1.4, *OLD* s.v. 9; the philosophical smile recalls the reaction to adversity of the 'laughing philosopher' Democritus (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.194 with Brink's note, Sen. *Dial.* 4.10.5, Juv. 10.33 4).

27 8 nihil est ab omni | parte beatum 'nothing is fortunate in every respect'. For *ab omni parte* (again a prosaic expression for a down to earth idea) cf. *OLD* s.v. *pars* 14d, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3.70, and for the general pessimistic idea that nothing is perfect see N H here; as they point out, the argument in this context is more positive, that one should have lower expectations and thus less disappointment.

29 32 The argument here is that the time of anyone's death is unpredict able: some may have the short life of Achilles, some the everlasting exis tence of Tithonus, and H. may even live longer than Grosphus. Achilles and Tithonus (both handsome young men, one Greek, one Trojan) form an obvious polar pair also in terms of lifespan, brought out here by the neatly balancing opposites *cita mors* and *longa . . . senectus.* 31 2 indicate that H. could be appropriately paralleled with Tithonus, Grosphus with Achilles, suggesting perhaps that the poet is somewhat older than his addressee.

29 abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem: for *aufero* of the action of *mors* cf. Catull. 68.19 20 (again of a young man); here as at *Epod.* 5.66 it is used euphemistically of 'removal' by death (cf. *OLD* s.v. 8 and the similar use of *adimo*, 2.9.10 n.). For the emphatic initial position of the verb cf. 13 and 2.2.5 n. For *cita mors* of rapid death in battle cf. *S.* 1.1.8 *horae momento cita mors uenit aut uictoria laeta* (the adj. is poetic: *OLD* s.v.). The phrase is richly Homeric: the juxtaposition *clarum cita* recalls the fate of Achilles that he would die young but achieve immortal fame (*Il.* 9.410 16), while *clarus* of Achilles ('bright' then 'famous') recalls the Homeric address φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ ('shining Achilles', 4x in *Iliad*), and *cita mors* recalls Thetis' char acterisation of her son as ὠκύμορος ('of swift fate', *Il.* 19.95), ironically suggesting that death was rapid enough to overtake even the proverbially 'swift footed' Achilles (πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς, 30x in *Iliad*).

30 longa . . . senectus 'everlasting old age', suggesting Tithonus' perspec tive (for this affective use of the adjective cf. 2.14.19 n.). The prosaic form *senectus* occurs only here in the *Odes*, which otherwise have the more poetic *senecta* (2.6.6 n.); in the context of the Tithonus story (see below)

the noun surely suggests the sloughed shell of the cicada (so it is used of a snake's sloughed skin, *OLD* s.v. 3) following the similar use of Greek γῆρας (see Harder on Call. *Aet.* fr.1.35). **Tithonum:** the handsome son of the Trojan king Laomedon beloved by Eos, goddess of the Dawn, who asked Zeus for eternal life for him but failed to request eternal youth; for the story cf. *HHAphr* 218 38, and for Tithonus as a type of unfortunate old age cf. e.g. Mimn. fr.4 W, Plut. *Mor.* 783e. **minuit:** the verb is paradoxical with *longa* since it means literally 'diminish'; it refers here not only to Tithonus' incapacity in his extreme old age (cf. *HHAphr.* 233 8), but also to the story (probably derived from the Homeric Hymn) that he turned into a tiny cicada (see Olson on *HHAphr.* 237 8, Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F = fr. 140 Fowler).

31 et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit: the two contractions here are rare, the more poetic *forsan* = *forsitan* only here in H. (*forsitan* itself does not occur in H.) and *negarit* = *negauerit* only here in the *Odes* (for this type of contraction generally in H. cf. Bo 1960: 84 5). *mihi* and *tibi* are balanced here (for the same idea of a zero sum of years that can be distributed between two individuals cf. 2.5.14 15 n.); as N H point out, there is bathetic humour in the transition between great heroes and the poet as examples.

32 porriget hora: balances *abstulit* ... *mors* (29); the concrete verb ('offer with extended hand', cf. *S.* 2.3.258, *OLD* s.v. 6a) brings out the personification of *hora* (cf. similarly 3.29.48 *quod fugiens semel hora uexit*), matching that of 39 *Parca* ... *dedit*; *Hora* would be one of the *Horae,* the group of divinities that control the seasons (cf. Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 3.512), appropriate givers of time benefits to mortals (it is also the divine name of Hersilia, wife of Romulus cf. Enn. *Ann.* 100 Sk., Ov. *Met.* 14.851). Given that the notional gift is to H. himself, the suggestion that *hora* here puns on *Horatius* as elsewhere in H. is attractive (cf. Reckford 1997: 604).

33 40 The triple anaphora of *te* ... *tibi* .. *te* (all pronouns heading their clauses) followed by the single *mihi* stresses how far Grosphus' material possessions outstrip those of the poet (contrast their equality in the face of death expressed by the balanced *mihi* ... *tibi* in line 31). Grosphus' luxuries drawn from far outside the Italian peninsula (*Siculaeque, Afro*) also contrast with H.'s modest import of Greek poetry (*Graiae* ... *Camenae*).

33 34 te greges centum Siculaeque circum | mugiunt uaccae: 'a hundred herds and Sicilian cattle' seem to mean 'a hundred herds of Sicilian cattle'; for the hendiadys cf. 3.4.4 *fidibus citharaque Phoebi* (= *fidibus citharae Phoebi*), 3.24.13 *fruges et Cererem* (= *fruges Cereris*); for Grosphus' Sicilian

links see introduction above. As N H point out, each of the three elements of Grosphus' wealth then neatly contains a single type of animal (cow, horse, sheep); for *greges* of cattle (as opposed to the usual use of sheep) cf. *Epod.* 2.11 12 *mugientium* | ... *greges*. *circum* | *mugiunt* looks at first like a tmesis of a compound verb (a coinage such as *circumtonuit* at *S.* 2.3.223), as seems to happen in Horatian hexameters (cf. *Ep.*2.2.93 4 *circum* | *spectemus*, Bo 1960: 83), but neither Catullus nor Sappho (nor indeed H. elsewhere) allows word division between hendecasyllables in Sapphics (as opposed to between the third hendecasyllable and the adonaean, cf. 7 8 n.); *circum* is therefore likely to be a postponed preposition after *te*, with the two elements bookending their line in a spectacular hyperbaton (for such postponements of disyllabic prepositions at line end, a feature of refined poetic style, cf. Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.566 7). N H suggest that the image here is a humorous one of Grosphus personally surrounded by mooing cows, but the picture rather suggests a rich country estate of Grosphus with a villa surrounded by pasturing cattle; *te circum*, 'around your house' would then be like *ad te*, 'to your house' (*OLD* s.v. *tu* 1e). **tollit hinnitum:** for *tollo* of raising sounds (usually by humans) cf. *AP* 113; for *hinnitus* of the neighing of a spirited horse cf. Virg. *G.* 3.94, and for the synaloepha (interlinear elision) *hinnitum* | *apta* between Sapphic hendecasyllables cf. 2.2.18 n.

35 **apta quadrigis equa:** cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.84 *longis cursibus aptus equus*; *quadrigae* (only here in H.; for the plural form singular cf. *OLD* s.v. 1a) points to a four horse racing chariot, for which mares were often favoured (see Virg. *G.* 1.59 and N H here). Chariot racing was of course an activity of the wealthy at Rome (cf. Meijer 2010).

35 7 **te bis Afro | murice tinctae | uestiunt lanae** 'you are clothed by wools double dyed in African purple'; cf. Juv. 11.155 *quos ardens purpura uestit* (in H. the plural *lanae* suggests multiple garments). *murice* = the dye extracted from the murex shellfish (*OLD* s.v. 3a, Watson on *Epod.* 12.21), picking up *purpura* in line 7 as a sign of luxury. For rich African purple cf. *Ep.* 2.2.181 *uestis Gaetulo murice tinctas*, N H here and Wilson 1999, and for luxurious double dyeing cf. Watson on *Epod.* 12.21. **mihi parua rura:** carefully contrasted in terms with *te greges centum* (33), expressing the key idea of this last pair of stanzas; for the contrast between the modest resources of the poet and those of a richer or grander addressee as a closural gesture cf. 2.17.30 2, 4.2.53 60. The *parua rura* designate H.'s Sabine estate as at 3.18.2 *aprica* ... *rura*; for this as a contrast with great riches at poem end cf. 3.1.47 8 and intro duction above.

38 **spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae:** *spiritus* suggests poetic inspiration as at 4.6.29 and Cic. *Arch.* 18 (cf. *OLD* s.v. 5), while *spiritum* ... *tenuem*

picks up *mensa tenui* (14), reinforcing the link between modest poetics and modest lifestyle (see 14 n.); *tenuis* here as often refers to 'fine' Callimachean poetic texture (cf. 2.20.1 2 n.). *Graiae ... Camenae* points to something of a paradox, as the *Camenae* were the native Italian forms of the Muses proclaimed in early Roman poetry (see N H here and N R on 3.2.21), while *Graiae* (the poetic/archaic form of *Graecus*: 2.4.11 12 n.) indicates imported Greek Callimachean poetics, as at Prop. 3.1.4 *Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros*; contrast the more specific use of *Aeolius* where H. refers to his Lesbian lyric models (2.13.24 n., 3.30.13, 4.3.12, 4.9.12).

39 40 Parca: with *Camenae* provides a pair of native Italian terms con trasting not just with *Graiae* but also with the paired more exotic locations of the previous stanza (*Siculaeque, Afro*) see introduction above. For the Italian *Parcae*, divinities of destiny, cf. 2.6.9 n.; the unusual singular (cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.6.46 with McKeown's note) with *dedit* recalls the gifts of the similar Greek poetic fate deity *Moira* (cf. Bion fr. 8.4 5 εἰ μὲν γὰρ βιότω διπλόον χρόνον ἄμμιν ἔδωκεν ('gave')| ἢ Κρονίδας ἢ Μοῖρα πολύτροπος) or *Potmos* (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4.41 2 ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποίαν ἀρετάν | ἔδωκε ('gave') Πότμος ἄναξ). **non mendax:** true prophecy is a natural feature of destiny divinities (cf. *CS* 25 *Parcae ... ueraces*); for the high style Horatian litotes with an epithet cf. 1.18.9 *non leuis*, 1.28.14 *non sordidus*, 2.19.15 *non leni*. **dedit** 'granted' (of divine benefits) cf. *OLD* s.v. *do* 3 and the similar ἔδωκε in the Greek parallels above; the verb governs both acc. (*spiritum*) and inf. (*spernere*) here. **et malignum | spernere uulgus** 'and to reject the envious mob'; as N H note, *malignum* evokes the jealousy traditionally felt by lesser mortals of the true poet (cf. 2.20.4 n.); both this and the rejection of 'vulgar' views (cf. 2.2.19) again recall the poetics of Callimachus (*Aetia* fr.1.17 with Harder's note, *H.* 2.105 13) and look forward to the poet prophet of the Roman Odes at 3.1.1 *Odi profanum uulgus et arceo* (see N R's note). The poem ends with an element of ring composition: the common anxieties listed in the first three stanzas, reflected in the riches of lines 33 6, will be avoided by the quiet life of the poet as set out in this last stanza.

17 SUMMARY

Your anxieties are groundless, Maecenas you will not die before me. But if you did die before me, I would hasten to perish, and we would both go together, as I have sworn, inseparable by any force; that is our destiny (1 16). Whatever formidable heavenly powers are in play, our stars are wonderfully aligned; you were saved from illness by the protection of Jupiter, while I was saved from a falling tree by Faunus, acting for

Mercury. We should both make sacrifices to mark our escapes, yours extravagant, mine modest (17 32).

Metre

Alcaics (see Introduction, section 7).

For the addressee Maecenas, H.'s main patron and a major friend and adviser of Augustus, see the introduction to 2.12. The point of depar ture is Maecenas' worry that he will die before H., and the key purpose of the poem is to stress the closeness of their friendship; a specific occasion seems to be suggested by the ending which appears to indicate (30 2 n.) that the poem is set on the anniversary of H.'s escape from a falling tree (for this see introduction to 2.13), though this is probably not identical (as some have suggested) with the anniversary of Maecenas' recovery from a dangerous illness; that event is alluded to in one Maecenas ode (1.20) without any reference to H.'s escape, while in another (3.8) Horace's escape is celebrated without any mention of Maecenas' recovery. It is clear from 3.8 that H. celebrated this escape annually on 1st March, so the sacrifice described at 30 2 should be set on that same day. The ancient *Vita Horati* with its allusion to Maecenas' last wishes (p. 2.1 2 Klingner) suggests that Maecenas died before H., probably not long before in the same year of 8 BCE (Nisbet 2007: 20), so the poem is in some ways prophetic; there is no indication of the year of writing, but it is no doubt somewhere in the late to mid 20s BCE (see Introduction). The opening could be seen to cast Maecenas as querulous, but, though there is some evidence for his hypochondria (see N H's introduction to this poem), the *querelae* complained about here are perhaps more indicative of devotion and anxiety at the prospect of permanent separation from H.; *querela* is used for the complaints of loyal elegiac lovers about the infidelity of their *puellae* (2.9.18), and the language of shared death as a token of affection similarly recalls professions of erotic and heterosexual love (see N H's introduction to this poem, citing Tib. 1.5, Prop. 2.28, Ov. *Am.* 2.18, [Tib.] 3.10, and 8 9 n. below); for further elements which harness the language of erotic love to express friendship cf. 15 n.

Structurally, the poem divides into two halves: in the first, H. responds to Maecenas' anxieties by stressing first that his friend is not fated to die before the poet, and that even if he does H. has sworn not to survive him (1 16), while in the second, H. deploys the language of astrology to show how closely their two fates are intertwined (for the structural turn in the middle in the *Odes* cf. Harrison 2004). The two stanzas either side of the

break are notably rich in evocative proper names: 13 16 names two pairs of powers, the destructive Chimaera and Gyges, and the more positive Iustitia and Parcae, while 17 20 lists the three star signs Libra, Scorpio, and Capricorn, the first balancing Iustitia with the scales of Justice (17 n.), the latter two balancing the Chimaera and Gyges as non human shapes. The closure, matching other closures in the *Odes* which refer to sacrifice (30 2 n.), has an element of ring composition in that it turns to address Maecenas specifically with advice to perform sacrifice (30 1), just as the opening contains direct advice to him to refrain from *querelae* (1); the figurative killing of H. by Maecenas' complaints in the poem's first line (1 *exanimas*) also becomes the literal sacrificial killing of the lamb in its last line (32 *feriemus*).

The second half of the poem has considerable astrological colour (for a detailed treatment of this aspect see Kidd 1982, largely followed here). Astrology was of much interest in late Republican and early Imperial Rome (see e.g. Rawson 1985: 306 10, Barton 1994: 32 63, and espe cially Bakhouche 2002), and appears elsewhere in H. (*Odes* 1.11.1 3; cf. further N H's note there) and other Augustan poetry (Propertius 4.1). Here, as has been noted, it seems likely to appeal to the addressee Maecenas, whose Etruscan descent linked him with the tradition of Etruscan divination which included astrology (Thulin 1909: 90 1). In my view the last four stanzas (as Kidd has argued) loosely exploit the language of the discipline rather than presenting an accurate astrologi cal situation (contra West 1991 and Bradshaw 2002: 12 14). Lines 17 20 mean 'whatever the hostile powers of the constellations throw at me', matching the dangerous powers of the sky with those of the underworld in 13 15 (see n.), while 21 30 suggest generally that both H. and Maecenas enjoy divine protection.

One important intertext for lines 9 12 is Catullus 11, where the poet calls on the loyalty of his friends Furius and Aurelius, especially its opening and central parts: *Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,| siue in extremos penetrabit Indos* (1 2) and *omnia haec, quaecumque feret uoluntas | caelitum, temptare simul parati* (13 14). Lines 10 12 look back to this poem as well as to *Epode* 1 (see below): both passages have some colour from the military oath, and both stress companionship and preparedness to go wherever friendship demands, even extreme journeys (11.1 *comites* ~ 2.17.12 *comites*, 11.2 *extremos* ~ 2.17.11 *supremum*, 11.13 *quaecumque* ~ 2.17.11 *utcumque*, 11.14 *parati* ~ 2.17.12 *parati*).

Another key feature of 2.17 is its echoing of previous Horatian poems addressed to Maecenas, appropriate in a poem which stresses the closeness of their friendship. Maecenas is addressed as *mearum | grande decus columen que rerum* (3 4), plainly picking up the dedication of the collection of *Odes* at 1.1.2 *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum* (3 4 n.), while his profession of

comradeship at 10 12 *ibimus, ibimus,* | *utcumque praecedes, supremum* | *carpere iter comites parati* looks not only to military and imperial oaths (10 12 n.) but also to *Epode* 1, where it is Maecenas who will go (1.1 *ibis*) prepared (1.3 *paratus*) to share all the dangers of his friend Caesar, while H. himself says that his future life will be nothing without Maecenas (1.5 6; cf. 2.19.5 8) and promises to follow him wherever he goes (1.11 14): *te uel per Alpium iuga* | *inhospitalem et Caucasum* | *uel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum* | *forti sequemur pectore.* 2.17.10 12 (cited above) picks up from this passage not just the element of faithful following wherever/whenever Maecenas leads, but also the idea of devoted companionship in the geographically ultimate journey, already found in Catullus 11.2 *extremos* ... *Indos* (see above) and echoed in 2.19.10 11 by the rather more sombre *supremum* ... *iter* of the ultimate journey of death. Both the other Maecenas poems echoed in 2.19 are prominent, being the opening and programmatic poems in their collections.

Select bibliography

Kidd 1982; Connor 1987: 116 21; West 1991; Maleuvre 1991; Lyne 1995: 116 22.

1 Cur: seven other Horatian odes begin with a direct interrogative word, setting out a dramatic situation (1.5.1 *quis,* 1.24.1 *quis,* 1.31.1 *quid,* 2.11.1 *quid,* 3.7.1 *quid,* 3.25.1 *quo,* 4.14.1 *quae*); *cur* itself occurs in the second line (and in multiple later anaphora) in 1.8, where it has a similar role of justified complaint. **me** ... **tuis:** pointed hyperbaton paradoxically emphasising the pair's closeness ('how can *you* do this to *me*?'). **querelis:** see introduction above on the devoted love implied here. **exanimas** 'kill' of mental prostration, a colloquial use (*OLD* s.v. 4).

2 3 nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius | obire 'it is not dear to the gods nor indeed to me that you should die first'; note how the friend H. replaces the gods as the emotional climax here, while *mihi te* juxtaposes the two friends (cf. 5 *te meae*). The use of *amicus* = 'dear' (*OLD* s.v. 5) in this combination (cf. 1.26.1 *Musis amicus* with N H's note) suggests the Greek suffix φιλος or φιλής in poetic compounds such as διΐφιλος, 'dear to Zeus' (*Il.* 1.74) or θεοφιλής, 'dear to the gods' (Aesch. *Eum.* 869); the adjective points to the idea of friendship, central for the poem. **obire:** this prosaic verb is found again in the *Odes* only in another context of devoted death at 3.9.24 *tecum obeam libens* and in an ode to Maecenas of H.'s own (non) death at 2.20.7, all in the absolute sense of 'die' (*OLD* s.v. 8; cf. Axelson 1945: 104 5).

3 4 mearum | grande decus columenque rerum: recalls the earlier address to Maecenas at 1.1.2 *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum* (see introduction above), using a similar quasi architectural metaphor (*praesidium* = 'bul wark, protection', *columen* = 'rooftop, keystone', *OLD* s.v. 4), and is picked up at *Ep.* 1.1.103 (again to Maecenas) *rerum tutela mearum. columen* occurs only here in H. but seems to be a traditional lively expression when used of a person (cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 536 *senati columen*, Ter. *Phorm.* 287 *columen … familiae*); as at 1.1.2, *decus* refers to a person bringing distinction (*OLD* s.v. 3), while *grande* (going with both nouns) looks particularly to the element of height in *columen*. For *mearum … rerum*, 'my fortunes', (emphatic hyperbaton putting the possessive first, reversing the strategy of 1.1.2 *praesidium … meum* but with similar effect), cf. *Ep.* 1.1.103 (above), *Epod.* 9.37 *Caesaris rerum.*

5 a!: the exclamation is rare in H. and highly emotional, with links to neoteric style, here appearing as usual at the start of its phrase; cf. N H on 1.27.18, Watson on *Epod.* 5.71, Clausen on Virg. *E.* 10.47, Thomas on Virg. *G.* 4.525 7. **meae … partem animae** 'half of my soul' (cf. 6 *altera* n.); *pars* in this sense of 'even part, half' (*OLD* s.v. 4b) recalls its perceived etymological link with *par* (Maltby 1991: 452). For the phrase and the traditional idea cf. 1.3.8 (H. to Virgil) *animae dimidium meae* with N H's note and Marneffe 1997. *animae* picks up *exanimas* (1).

5 6 rapit | maturior uis: for violent removal by death cf. 2.13.19 20 *improuisa leti | uis rapuit* with n.; *maturior* means 'earlier than you'. **quid moror** 'why do I delay?', a lively expression (cf. Virg. *A.* 6.528 *quid moror* ?, [Tib.] 3.7.147 *quid moror*?). **altera:** N H adopt Burman's conjecture *alteram*, which may have been read by Porphyrio given his comment here (*partem quae apud me est non retinebo*), but the accusative is an obvious 'correction' in supplying an apparently needed object for the nearby *moror*, and the nominative seems preferable in apposition here, 'as the other half'. *moror* is used intransitively in the sense of 'tarry on earth' (see N H here and on 2.20.3, esp. *CLE* (= Bücheler and Lommatzsch 1930) 493.3 *amissa est coniunx, cur ego et ipse moror*?), confirmed by the intransitive *quid moror?* (see above); there is no problem in H. viewing himself as part of his own soul (contra N H). For the sentiment of one friend not wishing to survive the other cf. *Epod.* 1.5 6 (H. to Maecenas again) *nos, quibus te uita si superstite | iucunda, si contra, grauis* with Watson's note.

7 nec carus aeque: understand *cuiquam*, 'not equally dear [to anyone else]'. **superstes:** echoes *Epod.* 1.5 (see above).

8 integer 'whole, undiminished', continuing the metaphor of 5 *partem.*

8 9 ille dies utramque | ducet ruinam 'that day will bring collapse for both'; the hypallage (one might expect *utrique* or *utriusque*) is confirmed by Prop. 2.8.25 6, again in a context of dying together: *sed non effugies: mecum moriaris oportet; | hoc eodem ferro stillet uterque cruor* (i.e. *utriusque cruor*). *ruinam* continues the architectural metaphor of 4 *columen*; for *ruinam ducere* cf. [Sen.] *HO* 1630 *duxit ruinam* and the Virgilian *ruinam trahere* (*A.* 2.465 6 and three other examples).

9 10 non ego perfidum | dixi sacramentum 'not perjured is the oath I have sworn'. *non* goes with *perfidum*, with *ego* in natural unstressed place (cf. Adams 1994; compare 2.7.26 7 *non ego sanius* | *bacchabor Edonis* with n.), while the prosaic and legal *sacramentum* is found only here in H. or any Latin poetry before Lucan (for *dicere sacramentum* cf. Caes. *Civ.* 1.23.5, 1.86.3, Tac. *Ann.* 4.31.3).

10 12 As anticipated by *sacramentum*, these lines seem to be related to the form of the Roman military oath sworn to the commander, known to us from the related oaths of loyalty sworn to the emperor (Hermann 1968: 122 3); in a recently published Augustan example from 6 5 BCE (González 1988), the swearer promises to be forever loyal to the emperor and pursue his enemies everywhere until their death (*terra marique usque ad internicionem persequar*), though in both cases the formula is modified in H.'s version using traditional topics of friendship; personal companionship replaces mere loyalty, and the death of the leader's enemies becomes the devoted death of the loyal comrade alongside the leader. In this H. seems to be specifically recalling the promise he made in *Epodes* 1.11 14 to follow Maecenas to Actium, as well as Catullus' proclamation of the loyalty of his friends Furius and Aurelius in Catull. 11.1 14 (for both passages see introduction above).

10 ibimus, ibimus: for affective immediate repetition in H. in general cf. 2.14.1 *Postume, Postume* with n., and for its use with verbs in particular cf. 4.1.2 *precor, precor* with Thomas's note. The imperial oath involves a similar promise to travel in the emperor's service (see above), and *ibimus* also recalls *ibis* at *Epod.* 1.1 (see introduction above); in this context, however, *eo* means 'depart, die', a Lucretian use (*OLD* s.v. 4b), and the plural links H. and Maecenas in departure together from the world (as argued in lines 5 9).

11 utcumque praecedes 'whenever you go first', i.e. 'die first' (for *cedo* of death cf. 2.3.17 n.). The expression varies the comradely promise to go with one's friend wherever he leads (cf. *Epod.* 1.11 14 and Catull. 11.1 14, both echoed here; see introduction above) as well as the military promise to follow the commander's orders (10 12 n.); for 'whenever' rather than 'wherever' in this kind of comradeship context cf. 3.4.29 31 (H. to the

Muses) *utcumque mecum uos eritis, libens* | *insanientem nauita Bosporum* | *temptabo.*

11 12 supremum | carpere iter: for *carpere iter* of slowly 'picking' one's way cf. *S.* 1.5.95, *OLD* s.v. *carpo* 8a; *iter* picks up *ibimus* via their perceived etymological link (Var. *LL* 5.35, Maltby 1991: 314). The image of death as the 'last journey' has a tragic tinge (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 807 8 τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν | στείχουσαν, 'going on her final road', Eur. *Alc.* 610 ἐξιοῦσαν ὑστάτην ὁδόν, 'leaving on her last road'); for the metaphor generally see N H here and on 1.28.16. **comites parati:** both terms look back to the friendship described at Catull. 11.1 14, *parati* also to that declared by H. at *Epod.* 1.3; see introduction above.

13 me picks up *ego* at 9, and is emphatically set at the head of both stanza and sentence; cf. 2.12.13 n. **Chimaerae spiritus igneae:** i.e. *Chimaerae spiritus igneus* (hypallage); for the fire breathing mixed form monster Chimaera slain by the hero Bellerophon cf. 4.2.15 16 *tremendae* | *flamma Chimaerae* with Thomas's note, Virg. *A.* 7.785 6 with Horsfall's note, and *Il.* 6.182 δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο, 'breathing out the dread might of burning fire'. At Virg. *A.* 6.287 8 the Chimaera and the hundred hander Briareus occur together in a list of chthonic monsters (see Horsfall's note for the tradition); here we are to imagine evil creatures trying to separate the loyal friends in the world below by attacking them. H. and Maecenas can be seen as resembling the inseparable friends Theseus and Pirithous who travelled to the underworld together (cf. 4.7.27 8 with Thomas's note).

14 si resurgat 'rise again' to fight once more after being struck down by the Olympians to the underworld; for this fate of the Giants cf. 3.4.73 5 with N R's note. **centimanus Gyges:** both here and in the identical phrase at 3.4.69 the MSS transmit *gigas,* but in both places an individualising proper name seems more appropriate than just 'giant'; Lambinus conjec tured *Gyas,* Bentley *Gyges.* The latter is found in the list of 'hundred hander' giants who fought against the Olympians in the Gigantomachy (for which see 2.19.21 4 n.) at Hesiod *Theog.* 149 Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ' (see West's note) and is found again at Ov. *Am.* 2.1.12, *Tr.* 4.7.18; *Gyas* is only recorded in the same list in the later and derivative Apoll. *Bibl.* 1.1.1. *centimanus* (first in H.) clearly echoes Homeric ἑκατόγχειρος of the 'hundred hander' Briareus at *Il.* 1.402.

15 diuellet 'tear apart': cf 1.13.18 19 *nec malis* | *diuulsus querimoniis,* 1.36.18 19 *nec Damalis nouo* | *diuelletur adultero, OLD* s.v. 2b and 3; this is again a use of erotic terminology in the context of friendship (cf. 1 n. and introduction above).

15 16 sic potenti | Iustitiae placitumque Parcis: cf. *S.* 2.6.22 *sic dis placitum*; and for the poetic displaced *que* (which should link the names) see 2.19.27 8 n. For *potens* of deities cf. Catull. 34.15 *potens Triuia, OLD* s.v. 4b, for the cult of Iustitia at Rome cf. N H on 1.24.6 and *OLD* s.v . 1b, and for the *Parcae* cf. 2.6.9 n. As Kidd (1982: 89) notes, Justice (Dike) and the Fates (Moirai), the Greek equivalents of these deities, are coupled as the daughters of Zeus and Themis in Hesiod (*Theog.* 902 4), while the power of Iustitia may echo that of Dike in Hesiod (*W&D* 256 75), and Dike may also provide a link to the astronomical material of 17 20 given Aratus' famous identification of her with the constellation Parthenos/Virgo (*Phaen.* 96 136); for a further link see on *Libra* below (17 n.).

17 24 The echoes of astrological terms in these lines (see on 19 *natalis horae*, 22 *consentit*, 23 *tutela*, and in general Kidd 1982) seem general colouring rather than suggesting detailed technical elements or a reference to H.'s own horoscope (see introduction above). The main point seems to be to gather powerful potentially violent astrological forces (18 *formidulosus*, 18 *uiolentior*, 19 *tyrannus*) to match the potential violence of the underworld monsters of 13 15 (cf. 15 *diuellet*), and stress that H.'s friendship for Maecenas will withstand all attempts to separate them, whether by chthonic or celestial powers. The sequence of Libra, Scorpio and Capricorn merely follows the order of the signs of the Ptolemaic zodiac through the year from September to January, missing out Sagittarius, the kind of surface knowledge which could have been picked up from a casual look at a zodiac chart (for an ancient example cf. Barton 1994: 94); the three do not form a realistic triangulation which might have astrological significance (for this see Barton 1994: 99 102). Lines 19 20 refer simply to the fact that H.'s birthday of 8 December (*Ep.* 1.20.27, *Vita Horati* p. 4.1 2 Klingner) falls between the times when the sun enters the signs of Scorpio (24 October 22 November) and Capricorn (22 December 20 January) rather than anything more pre cise, just as the 'protection of Jupiter' indicates the likely birth date of Maecenas (22 3 n.).

17 Libra: the star sign of the Scales is neatly connected with Iustitia since that deity is depicted in both Roman literature (Manil. 3.305, Luc. 4.58, Sen. *Thy.* 858) and art (*LIMC* VIII.1.662) as holding scales to signify balanced judgement (so symbolised since *HHHerm.* 324), and Manilius claims that judges are born under the sign of Libra (4.547 52). The season of Libra is generally perilous because it is the time of the autumn equinox ('balance' of day and night), a dangerous and unhealthy period (cf. 2.14.15 n.).

17 18 Scorpios . . . formidulosus: the Greek form of this name (rather than *scorpio*) is usually used for the constellation (cf. Virg. *G.* 1.37, Cic. *Arat.* 452), while the adjective is prosaic and colloquial and found only here and at *Epod.* 5.55 in H. The Scorpion is 'formidable' because according to Aratus it had stung the hunter Orion to death at the bidding of Artemis, so that Orion's constellation retreats 'in fear' when that of the Scorpion rises (*Phaen.* 641 6). **aspicit:** despite earlier commentators, this verb does not seem to be a technical term of astronomy or refer to the way in which constellations are said to 'look at' each other across the circle of the zodiac (cf. e.g. Manil. 4.499 *Erigone Taurum spectat*) but simply expresses the idea that heavenly bodies look on mortals with benevolence or (here) malevolence: see the examples at *TLL* II.837.46 56, and Arat. *Phaen.* 159 πολλάκις ἐσκέψαντο κεδαιομένους ἀνθρώπους, '(stars) who have often looked down on men being tossed' (tr. Kidd).

18 19 pars uiolentior | natalis horae: surely goes only with *Scorpios* and picks up *formidulosus* (so Kidd 1982: 90 1 and West, contra N H); for *uiolens/uiolentia* of natural forces cf. 3.30.10 *uiolens . . . Aufidus, OLD* s.v. *uiolentia* 2. The reference is to the calendrical proximity of H.'s birthday (8 December) to the season of the 'fearsome' Scorpio (see 17 24 n.). *natalis horae* varies the usual *dies natalis*, 'birthday'; *horae* may be chosen to suggest the Greek ὡροσκοπέω and the general idea of the horoscope, but there seems little evidence of an actual technical horoscope for H. here (see 17 24 n.). Likewise, *pars* has an astronomical use in the sense of 'degree' (e.g. Vitr. 9.3.1, Manil. 1.591, *OLD* s.v. 4c), but should probably be translated 'part, element' here.

19 20 seu tyrannus | Hesperiae Capricornus undae: cf. 1.3.15 (the south wind) *arbiter Hadriae*; Capricorn (normally depicted as a goat with a fish tail) is the 'arbitrary ruler of the western wave' since its midwinter season (like that of Scorpio adjacent calendrically to H.'s birthday, see 17 24 n.) was associated with sudden storms (cf. e.g. Colum. 11.2.94), and it was linked with the sea and the far West (cf. Manil. 4.569, 4.791 4). *Hesperiae . . . undae* (for the conjunction cf. otherwise only Prop. 4.1.86, Ov. *Fast.* 2.73; cf. similarly 1.28.26 *fluctibus Hesperiis*) in this context could recall H.'s own narrow escape from drowning off Sicily (cf. 3.4.28 with N R), especially since 27 30 refer to another peril of his (see n.).

21 2 utrumque nostrum incredibili modo | consentit astrum '[whatever dark astral forces may gather,] the stars of the two of us are in harmony in an amazing way'; *nostrum* is genitive pronoun not neuter adjective (see Kidd 1982: 91 2). Maecenas is under the protection of

Jupiter, H. under that of Faunus/Mercury, and both have remarkably enjoyed escapes from death as a result and seem to be destined for a shared future end, as 1 20 argue and *astrum* can suggest here (cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.97 *uno astro* with Kidd 1982: 91 3). For *consentire* of things cf. *OLD* s.v. 5 and Persius' imitation of H. at 5.45 6 *non equidem hoc dubites, amborum foedere certo | consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci*; the verb may echo συμπάσχω of astronomical 'sympathy' between those whose birth signs are linked by zodiac triangulation (cf. Geminus *Elem. Ast.* 2.12). The prosaic and colloquial conjunction *incredibili modo* is found again only at Plaut. *Rud.* 912, but cf. the later Greek prose expression θαυμαστόν τινα τρόπον, 'in some wonderful way' (Galen *De neru. diss.* 832, *De usu part.* 444, Dio 57.21.5, 58.6.2); for the unusual placing of the word break before *incredibili*, after six not five syllables (eased by the elision), unique in Book 2, see N H 1.xli. *astrum* seems at first after 17 20 to mean 'sign of the zodiac' (*OLD* s.v. 3), but given 22 30 with Jupiter and Mercury it must mean 'planet' (*OLD* s.v. 2), pointing to the benevolent influence of planetary gods (see on *Iouis . . . tutela* below); Persius' imitation at 5.51 *nescio quod certe est quod me tibi temperat astrum* seems to confirm this. **te:** emphatically heads its sentence though object, closely balanced by *me* in 27.

22 3 Iouis . . . tutela . . . refulgens 'the shining protection of Jupiter', referring both to the planet and its eponymous god. For *tutela* of the protection exercised by a deity cf. *OLD* s.v. 1; for the same term of the power over a certain area of life exercised by an astronomical sign or planet cf. Manil. 2.706, 2.926, 2.935, 4.702. *refulgens* (occuring only here in H.) is a poetic word (cf. Cic. *Arat.* 108, Catull. 64.275, Lucr. 2.800). Perhaps the date of Maecenas' birthday (unknown to us) placed him astrologically under the influence of Jupiter, connected in the Ptolemaic system with the signs of Pisces (20 February 20 March) and Sagittarius (23 November 21 December); for a clear chart cf. Barton 1994: 96. As with the proximity of zodiac signs to H.'s own birthday (17 24 n.), this does not require deep astrological knowledge; for Jupiter as a generally beneficent planet see N H here and Barton 1994: 96, 107 13. There might also be a suggestion that Maecenas' proximity to the *princeps*, some times figured by H. and other poets as Jupiter (cf. *Ep.* 1.19.43, Gaertner 2005: 14, Ingleheart 2010: 446), offered some kind of special protec tion. **impio . . . Saturno:** the epithet points both to the traditional mythological villainy of the father castrating and child consuming Saturn/Kronos (cf. e.g. Apoll. *Bibl.* 1.1.4 7) and to the baleful influence of the planet Saturn in astrology (cf. Prop. 4.1.84 *et graue Saturni sidus in omne caput*, N H here and Barton 1994: 107 13), traditionally opposed to the beneficent Jupiter (cf. Persius' imitation, 5.50 *Saturnumque grauem*

nostro Ioue frangimus una). Saturn and Jupiter influence adjacent zodiac signs and their seasons in the Ptolemaic system (see Barton 1994: 96) and could thus be seen as in competition for power over Maecenas if his birthday was on the cusp between Aquarius (21 January 19 February) and Pisces (20 February 20 March), or between Sagittarius (23 November 21 December) and Capricorn (22 December 20 January); the latter would put it close to H.'s own on 8 December. Again, this is not recondite knowledge; many people may then (as now) have known their birth sign.

24 eripuit: this rescue from death balances *rapit* of the snatching by death at line 5; given the context, the verb might also suggest Rhea's saving of Zeus/Jupiter from Kronos/Saturn in myth by spiriting the baby away to Crete, an episode narrated by Hesiod (*Theog.* 453 506) and Callimachus (*H.* 1.28 53).

24 5 uolucrisque Fati | tardauit alas 'and slowed the wings of flying fate' (*uolucris*, a poetic adjective, seems to be genitive, but could be accusative plural; cf. V.Fl. 7.398 *uolucri . . . ala*). Here Fate (capital letter: the perso nification is strong here) means Death (*OLD* s.v. *fatum* 6), often seen as winged in Greek and Roman literature and art (cf. *S.* 2.1.58 *mors atris circumuolat alis* and N H here, *LIMC* VIII.905 6 and plates for *Thanatos* 14, 28); the wings signify death's characteristic rapidity in approach and action (cf. e.g. 2.14.1 4 with n.). **populus frequens** 'the thronging people', implying a full house in the theatre (for the same phrase, a common expression, cf. 1.35.14 with N H).

26 laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum 'made a sound of joy with their three fold applause in the theatre'; cf. 1.20.3 4 *datus in theatro | cum tibi plausus*, referring to the same occasion when Maecenas reappeared in public after a serious illness (see N H's full note; the occasion is known only from the two Horatian poems). *theatris* looks like a simple poetic plural (as perhaps at *S.* 1.10.39, where *theatris* balances *aede*), following Lucr. 6.109 10 *carbasus ut quondam magnis intenta theatris | dat crepitum* (cf. also Virg. *A.* 1.427 *theatris*, of a single auditorium). For *crepere* of applause and enthusiastic clapping at Rome in rhythmical series of three cf. 1.1.8 *tergeminis . . . honoribus* with N H, Prop. 3.10.4 *manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos* with Heyworth and Morwood's note, and for the internal accusative construction cf. *OLD* s.v. 1 and e.g. *Epod.* 9.5 *sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra.*

27 me closely balances *te* at 22 in case and position (22 n.). **truncus illapsus cerebro** 'a tree trunk fallen on my skull'; the graphic *cerebrum* (literally 'brain') is found only here in the *Odes* (twice in the *Satires*). The starkly anatomical wound, the narrowly avoided death, and the

divine intervention here together suggest the world of Homeric and Virgilian epic: for wounds to the *cerebrum* cf. Virg. *A.* 9.419, 10.416, 11.698, 12.537, for the narrow escape from death in epic battle 'unless' some intervention occurred see 28 n., and for the Homeric origin of this divine rescue cf. 28 9 n. and 2.7.13 16 n. (again owed to Mercury: see below). For H.'s narrow escape from the falling tree cf. introduction to 2.13.

28 sustulerat, nisi 'would have taken me off, had not ... '; for the vivid indicative apodosis and inverted order of the conditional cf. 3.16.3 5 *munierant satis* | ... | *si non risisset* and N H here; *tollo* in the sense of 'kill' is a lively colloquial expression (*OLD* s.v. 13a). For disaster 'had not' (εἰ μή) a god intervened to save a hero in epic battle cf. *Il.* 3.374, 5.312, 20.291, Nesselrath 1992. **Faunus:** at 3.8.7 the tree escape is credited to Bacchus, at 3.4.27 to the Muses; here Faunus is chosen as the Latin parallel for Pan, son of Hermes (see N H on 1.17.2), the tool of his father Mercury, the lyric poet H.'s protector (see below), and perhaps as a more epic deity than Bacchus or the Muses (for his intervention in epic battle cf. e.g. Virg. *A.* 12.777 80); his links with the planetary Mercury are also significant in this astrological context.

28 9 ictum | dextra leuasset: the use of the god's hand to reduce the tree's impact recalls divine intervention to turn away weapons in epic battle cf. e.g. *Il.* 5.853 (Athene diverts a spear from Diomedes with her hand, χειρὶ). *leuo* here means 'alleviate, make lighter' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

29 30 Mercurialium ... uirorum 'men who belong to Mercury'; the adjec tive strictly refers to the members of a *collegium* linked with Mercury (Cic. *Q Fr.* 2.6.2), but references elsewhere make it clear that H. views himself in the lyric *Odes* as being under the special protection of Mercury, god of the lyre (cf. 1.10, and Miller 1991), and it is Mercury who saves him at Philippi in another quasi epic rescue (cf. 2.7.13 16 n. and Miller 2009: 44 53). Astrologically, H.'s birth date of 8 December places him outside either of the periods thought to be ruled astronomically by Mercury (Gemini and Virgo, May/June and August/September; cf. Barton 1994: 96), so he is not technically a *Mercurialis* or Ἑρμαϊκός (LSJ s.v.), 'born under the sign of Mercury', but as elsewhere in the poem he is clearly playing with astro logical language here, balancing his own non astrological protection by Mercury against Maecenas' probably astrological protection by Jupiter (see above). **custos:** normally used of Faunus/Pan as guardian of flocks (cf. Virg. *G.* 1.17 *Pan, ouium custos,* N H on 1.17.3), here of people; for *custos* of divine protectors generally cf. 3.22.1 *montium custos ... Virgo* with N R, Carter 1902: 116.

30 2 The final call to celebrate the escape of both men from death recalls odes where the two escapes from death brought together here are feted separately and form (conversely) the starting point of the poem: 1.20, where H. invites Maecenas to a symposium to drink wine bottled in the year of his friend's recovery from illness, and 3.8, another invitation from H. to Maecenas to celebrate the anniversary of H.'s escape from the falling tree. Here we find added the further element of votive offering and sacrifice, to be made to the two different protector gods Jupiter and Faunus, something several times used as a mode of closure elsewhere in the *Odes* (1.5.13 16, 3.23.17 20 and 4.2.49 60; on sacrifice and death as closural elements more generally see Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997: 304, 310); this reflects both the importance of festival and sacrifice in real life at Rome (see Griffin 1997) and the literary tradition of the dedicatory epigram written to mark an offering in thanks for an escape from death (cf. 2.13, intro duction and some poems in Book 6 of the *Greek Anthology*, e.g. 6.124, 6.125). The metaphorical death of H. in the poem's first line (1 *exani mas*) is picked up by the envisaged actual death of the lamb in its last (32 *feriemus*), this time inflicted not suffered by H., a subtle piece of ring composition. **reddere** 'render' what is properly due to the god in ritual (*OLD* s.v. 9). **uictimas:** unspecified, but presumably animals larger than H.'s lamb a bullock is offered to Jupiter at Virg. *A.* 9.625 9, while a bull was offered to him at the *feriae Latinae* (D.H. 4.49.3). **aedemque uotiuam** 'a votive temple' for Jupiter would be a quasi regal gesture (cf. Tarquin the Elder's dedication of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol (Cic. *Rep.* 2.36, Livy 1.38.7), a suitable allusion for Maecenas given his supposed descent from Etruscan kings: 1.1.1 *Maecenas atauis edite regibus*), and clearly an amus ing exaggeration here, pointing to Maecenas' wealth and status and pointedly contrasting with H.'s own modest offering. Cf. the final sacrifice of 4.2, where H.'s planned offering of a small calf contrasts with the (unlikely) twenty cattle ascribed to the princely Iullus Antonius (see Thomas on 4.2.53 60; the metapoetic symbolism clearly present there seems not to be repeated here). **memento** 'make sure to'; for the solemn tone cf. 2.3.1 n. **nos:** as at 1.6.5 and 1.6.17 the first person plural stresses the contrast between H.'s modest aims and those of a grander addressee. **humilem** . . . **agnam** 'a humble lamb' as victim suits Faunus as god of flocks (29 30 n.), but also H. as more 'lowly' than Maecenas (for his *humilis* background cf. 3.30.12, *Ep.* 2.2.50); for the (unusual) female animal sacrificed to Faunus (male animals are nor mally sacrificed to male gods in Roman ritual: Arnobius 7.19.1, Ekkroth 2014: 333 4), cf. 1.4.12 with N H, Scheid 2005: 64 5. **feriemus:** for this verb of sacrificial killing cf. *OLD* s.v. 3b.

18 SUMMARY

I do not live in exotic luxury with many possessions; my property is loyalty and poetic talent, and I do not ask my rich patron for more than my Sabine estate (1 14). Though human life is fleeting, you seek to build glamorous seaside villas, with no concern for the poor dependent farmers you expel to do so (15 28). But death comes to the rich as well as to the poor, and in the underworld we all have the same accommodation: Hades provides strict confinement even for the great, but a boon for the poor, giving them rest after their labours (29 40).

Metre

'Hipponactean' (see Introduction, section 7).

This lengthy ode (at 40 lines equal longest in this book with 2.1, 2.13 and 2.16) has no identified addressee and deals with lofty moralising themes: in these key respects (like the briefer 2.15 see introduction to that poem) it looks forward to the Roman Odes of the opening of Book 3 (for anticipation of the Roman Odes in the second half of Book 2 see Introduction, section 3). There are especially close links with *Odes* 3.1, where as in this poem we find an extended contrast between the suspect luxury of others' wealth and the modest virtue of the poet content with his Sabine estate (cf. 3.1.25 48), as already at 2.16.33 40 (see note there and on 14 below). The main difference from the Roman Odes is that the poem is written in the epodic 'Hipponactean' metre, found uniquely here in H. (see further below), rather than Alcaics; in this respect (as in the use of the generalising *tu*, see below, and in its substantial attack on materialism) the poem looks forward to 3.24 in the (different but gen erally similarly shaped) epodic metre of alternating glyconics and asclepiads.

Though some commentators have claimed so (cf. 35 n.), the *tu* of 17 seems not to continue to address Maecenas after 2.17, since he is compli mented in the phrase *potentem* ... *amicum* (12), and the harsh criticism of 17 28 is not aimed at him. It is rather the diatribic generalised *tu* found (again) in the Roman Odes (3.6.5) and elsewhere in *Odes* 3 (3.24.4) and especially in the moralising sections of Lucretius (e.g. 2.45 and 66, 3.904, 969, 1025, 1045); another diatribic element derived from Lucretius in this poem is the use of indignant rhetorical questions (here in 17 22 and 22 6; cf. 17 22 n.). The linked themes of the brevity of life, the futility of striving after riches (especially elaborate building and property) and the imposed equality of the underworld are found together in other poems in

Book 2 (e.g. 2.3.9 28, 2.14.5 24, 2.15.16 40). There are no specific indications of date other than likely echoes of the recently published *Georgics* (see below).

This poem, uniquely in this book, is written in an epodic metre, one in which the base unit is a couplet of a shorter and a longer line, and which, though it obeys 'Meineke's law' (on which in H. see most recently Kraggerud 2014) in having a line total divisible by four, does not use four line segments as its key structural building blocks: there is a break at the end of line 8 but also at the end of lines 14 and 22, and just as many sentences end in mid line as at the end of metrical units, especially with the disruptive rhetorical questions of the poem's last third (cf. lines 26, 32, 36). The so called 'Hipponactean' couplet of trochaic dimeter cata lectic and iambic trimeter catalectic (for more details see Introduction, section 7) is said by the metrical theorist Caesius Bassus to have been used often by Alcaeus (*GLK* VI.270.21), though it is not found in any surviving Greek text. Here, given that the poem's opening derives from Bacchylides, it may come from him just as easily as from Alcaeus (see below).

Structurally, the poem falls into three well marked sections of approxi mately equivalent length: the initial self characterisation of the poet as materially modest (1 14), the central attack on the contrasting *tu* who seeks futile and transient wealth and luxury at any moral price (15 28), and the concluding thoughts on the universality and egalitarianism of death (29 40). The central section (15 28) owes much to the technique of diatribe inherited from Lucretius and others (17 22 n.) and focuses on the issue of immoral boundary encroachment in luxurious construction, whether in building out over the sea or in moving into the land of neighbouring dependents (23 4 n., 24 6 n.); the dissatisfaction of the greedy developer with what he has pointedly contrasts with the poet's own contentment with his Sabine estate (22 n.), and the expelled clients of line 25 pick up the unnecessary clients of line 8 (24 6 n.). The mention of royal successors near the start (5 6 *Attali* | . . . *heres*) and end (34 *regumque pueris*) provides some further element of ring composition.

The opening of the poem echoes a number of earlier texts. Prime amongst these is Bacchylides fr. 21 S M, which may or may not have been the opening of a poem, perhaps in three line trochaic stanzas (H.'s initial *non* clearly picks up its first word):

Οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὔτε χρυσός,
  οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες,
  ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής,
Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα, καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν
  ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.

I do not have here flesh of oxen, or gold, or purple dyed rugs, but I have a well disposed heart, and the pleasing Muse, and sweet wine in Boeotian goblets.

The rest of the Greek poem is lost, but H. seems to have modified its original sympotic elements for his more moralising context, retaining the element of material modesty on the part of the poet and the value of his good heart and talent. H.'s opening couplet also picks up and inverts (1 n.) a line from another sympotic poem of Bacchylides (fr. 20 B.13 S M, in four line dactylo epitrite stanzas), where the poet imagi nes the fantasies of symposiasts dreaming of wealth (20.13 χρυσῶι δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἶκοι, 'their houses gleam with gold and ivory'); as often, H. sutures together in an ode two different poems by the same Greek lyric poet (cf. e.g. N H's introduction to 1.14). As in 2.16 (see introduction to that poem), the opening of Lucretius 2 is echoed (cf. Giesecke 2000: 140 2) in H.'s opening themes of the simple life and the needlessness of luxury exemplified in coffered ceilings (*DRN* 2.20 8):

ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca uidemus 20
esse opus omnino: quae demant cumque dolorem,
delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint
gratius interdum, neque natura ipsa requirit,
si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes
lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris, 25
lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,
nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa . . .

2.18 like 2.16 picks up the Lucretian luxurious elements of gold (18.1 *aureum* ~ 16.8 *auro* ~ Lucr. 2.27 *auroque*) and decorated ceiling (18.2 *lacunar* ~ 16.11 *laqueata* ~ Lucr. 2.28 *laqueata*), adding the verb *renidet* (18.2 = Lucr. 2.27).

Another passage used by H. which is itself indebted to this section of Lucretius is Virg. *G.* 2.461 71:

si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
mane salutantum totis uomit aedibus undam,
nec uarios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
inlusasque auro uestis Ephyreiaque aera,
alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana ueneno, 465
nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus oliui;
at secura quies et nescia fallere uita,
diues opum uariarum, at latis otia fundis,
speluncae uiuique lacus, at frigida tempe

mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni 470
non absunt.

Virgil's similar praise of the quiet country life as contrasted with urban luxury is evidently echoed by H., both in its overall structure of initial four fold denial of luxury and final contrastive capping assertion of the value of material moderation (2.18.1 9 *non . . . non . . . neque . . . nec . . . at* ~ 2.461 8 *si non . . . nec . . . neque . . . nec . . . at . . . at*) and in some lexical items (2.18.1 *aureum* ~ 2.464 *auro*, 2.18.2 *domo* ~ 2.461 *domus*); note too how V.'s paired proper names pointing to luxury, *Ephyreia* and *Assyrio*, are capped by H.'s four with the same function (*Hymettiae . . . Africa . . . Attali . . . Laconicas*) and how both refer to crowds of dependents as a sign of prestige (2.18.8 *clientae* ~ 2.462 *salutantum*). For the influence in general on *Odes* 2 of the recently published *Georgics* see Introduction, Section 4.

Select bibliography

Rudd 1974; Büchner 1976: 115 19; Lyne 1995: 126 31; Schmidt 2002: 105 14.

1 Non: for the same negative as an opening in the *Odes* cf. 2.9.1, 2.20.1, 3.20.1; here it picks up the opening Οὐ of Bacchylides fr. 21 S M (see introduction above). **ebur neque aureum:** for gold and ivory as luxury materials rejected by the moderate poet cf. 1.31.6 *non aurum aut ebur Indicum* with N H; Bacchylides presents the same pair of items as fantasy desideranda for the symposiast (20.13 S M, quoted above), an idea which is inverted here.

2 renidet: picked up from the similar context of Lucr. 2.27 (see introduc tion above). **lacunar** 'coffered panel' (Sen. *Ep.* 114.9, Juv. 1.56), gilded ceiling decoration of a luxurious Roman interior (cf. 2.16.11 12 n.), like *renidet* echoing the Lucretian model (*laqueata* at Lucr. 2.28 see introduc tion above).

3 trabes Hymettiae 'beams of Hymettian marble'; for the high quality grey blue marble of Mt Hymettus in Attica cf. N H here and Attanasio 2003: 177 80; *trabs* here refers to the marble architrave resting on the marble columns of line 4, suggesting an over grand building for a private citizen (cf. Pliny *NH* 36.49); for its (unusual) metaphorical use of non wooden materials cf. Pliny *NH* 36.64 (a stone obelisk).

4 premunt 'press, weigh down on' (*OLD* s.v. 14) but also 'oppress' (*OLD* s. v. 16); the implication is one of excess. **columnas:** for columns as a sign of a luxurious private building cf. 2.15.14 16 n.

4 5 ultima recisas | Africa 'cut in furthest Africa'; *recisas* (literally 'pruned, lopped': *OLD* s.v. 1) looks to the wood metaphor of *trabes,* while *ultima* exaggerates the distance of the relevant African marble quarries from Rome. The coveted yellow *giallo antico* or *marmor Numidicum* (for its use in Roman culture see N H here) came from the (relatively accessible) quarries at Simitthus/Chemtou, some 150 km west of Tunis/Carthage on the border of modern Tunisia and Algeria (see Attanasio 2003: 16 17). For *ultimus* of peoples at the 'ends of the earth' cf. 2.10.18 19 n.; here the point is invidious, suggesting unnecessarily distant imports. Italy had its own marble, and M. Lepidus (cos. 78 BCE) was criticised for using this same African marble in his town house (Pliny *NH* 36.49).

5 6 Attali | ignotus heres 'as the unknown heir of Attalus', referring to the surprise legacy of the rich kingdom of Pergamum to Rome by King Attalus III in 133 BCE (Livy *Per.* 58); the Attalids were firmly associated with luxury in Roman thought (cf. 1.1.12 *Attalicis condicionibus* with N H's note). *ignotus heres* is something of an paradox since heirs were normally at least acquaintances of the testator; for this phrase used of an unex pected inheritor cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.7.7, *Cod. Iust.* 6.24.11. **regiam occupaui** implies a monarchical takeover of power and palace; the dubious and non Roman *regiam* balances H.'s humble and moral *domo* (2).

7 8 Laconicas ... | ... **purpuras:** *purpuras* matches 2.16.7 *purpura,* and both probably derive from Lucr. 2.35 *ostroque rubenti,* all pointing to the luxuriousness of purple dyed clothes (2.16.7 n.); for the high status of Spartan purple dye in antiquity see N H here (esp. Pliny *NH* 9.127). The term *Laconicus* is prosaic, occurring only here in high poetry in classical Latin. **trahunt** 'drag', of trailing clothes (cf. *AP* 115, *OLD* s.v. 14a; it seems hard to see a reference to carding or weaving here, despite N H), suggest ing the long *palla* worn by *matronae* at Rome (Croom 2000: 89 91) and a heavy and rich fabric; closely parallel is Prop. 3.13.11 12 *matrona incedit census induta nepotum | et spolia opprobrii nostra per ora trahit* (see Heyworth and Morwood's note). **honestae** ... **clientae** 'high born lady clients'; for *honestus* in this sense cf. *OLD* s.v. 2, while the rare and archaic feminine *clienta* is found outside this passage only in early Roman comedy (four times) and the archaising Fronto (once). The primary reference is to the attendance of clients as a general sign of success properly eschewed by the modest lifestyle, echoing Virg. *G.* 2.461 2 (see introduction above, and 3.1.13 14 with N R's note); wives could accompany husbands on these visits (cf. e.g. Juv. 1.121 2). The unusual focus on women here might suggest contemporary intellectuals more fashionable than H. himself such as Demetrius and Hermogenes Tigellius, satirised for having an aristo cratic female following at *S.* 1.10.90 1 *Demetri, teque, Tigelli, | discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras* (see Gowers' note).

9 10 at fides et ingeni | benigna uena est 'but I have loyalty and a rich vein of talent', picking up Bacchylides' contrast ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής, | Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα (see introduction above); H.'s argument that virtue and talent are preferable to wealth and influence recalls Virg. *G.* 2.461 9 (see intro duction above) and is imitated in later self commendations by poet speak ers at Prop. 3.2.9 11 and Ov. *Am.* 1.3.11 13. These latter passages suggest that *fides* means primarily 'fidelity' (for this as an admirable moral quality cf. 1.24.7, 3.2.25, and esp. *Ep.* 1.1.57 8, which echoes this passage), looking forward to the reference to Maecenas' friendship in 10 *diues* (see below); as some commentators note, there may be a pun on *fides* in its sense of 'credit' (*OLD* s.v. 5; the poet has his own kind of wealth), while Commager (1962: 335) has suggested a further play on its meaning of 'lyre' (cf. 2.13.24, a word play known in Rome: cf. Maltby 1991: 234). This fits with *ingeni* (of poetic talent: cf. 1.6.12, 3.21.13) and with 1.31.17 20, where the lyre is paired as an object of the poet's prayer with a modest lifestyle and again contrasted with wealth. *uena benigna* is a metaphor from mining, as again about poetic talent at *AP* 409 *sine diuite uena* (see Brink's note), with *uena* referring to a 'vein' of ore (Catull. 66.49, *OLD* s.v. 6) with perhaps a glance at the same word's sense of 'stream' (*OLD* s.v. 5 see N H here), *benigna* to its 'productive' nature (*OLD* s.v. 4, picking up a sense of Bacchylides' εὐμενής (LSJ s.v.4), and fitting both vein and stream). As at 18 19 and 30 1, there is hiatus between dimeter and trimeter here.

10 11 pauperemque diues | me petit 'and I am courted though a poor man by a rich man', reversing the normal direction of self interested friendship (cf. Catull. 28.13 *pete nobiles amicos!*). For *peto* in the sense of 'court, pursue' a person cf. 4.11.21, *OLD* s.v. 10. For H. as (relatively) *pauper* (meaning 'of modest means', not 'indigent' see N H on 1.12.43) compared to the *diues* Maecenas (so at 3.29.13, here anticipating *potentem amicum*) cf. 3.29.56; for the honour that the lofty Maecenas does the lowly poet by seeking him out as a companion (rather than vice versa) cf. *S.* 1.6.60 4.

11 12 nihil supra | deos lacesso 'I do not provoke the gods further,' by asking more in my prayers (cf. Grattius 453 *patriosue lacessere diuos*); for the Sabine estate as sufficient answer to the poet's prayers cf. *S.* 2.6.1 4 *Hoc erat in uotis* . . . | . . . | *auctius atque* | *di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius opto*, and for the appropriateness of moderate demands in prayer see N H here. **poten tem amicum** 'influential friend'(the same phrase is found again *Ep.* 1.18.44, 86), here clearly indicating Maecenas.

13 largiora flagito: the adjective picks up 10 *benigna*; H. is rich enough immaterially not to need to 'demand more lavish gifts', and in any case Maecenas has enriched him enough materially (cf. *Epod.* 1.31 2, cited in

next note) and would give more if he did ask (cf. 3.16.38 *nec si plura uelim tu dare deneges*). *flagito* (a prosaic verb found only here in the *Odes*) implies importunate demands (*OLD* s.v. 1); nominalised *largiora* is found only here in classical Latin, modelled on *maiora* (*S.* 2.5.21, *Ep.* 1.17.24).

14 satis beatus unicis Sabinis 'rich/happy enough with my peerless Sabine holdings'; cf. *Epod.* 1.31 2 (to Maecenas and surely also referring to H.'s Sabine estate see Watson's note) *satis superque me benignitas tua | ditauit. beatus* here as often is ambiguous between 'wealthy' and 'con tented' (see Watson on *Epod.* 2.1), while *unicis* (in some tension with the plural *Sabinis*) means 'unmatched, splendid' (cf. 3.14.5, *OLD* s.v. 2a) but also implies that one estate is enough. The plural *Sabinis* has been much discussed (see N H), but seems to stand for *agris Sabinis* here (so Porph. *donando me uno fundo Sabino*); compare 3.4.21 2 *in arduos tollor | Sabinos,* where *Sabinos* means *agros Sabinos* (see N R's note). The Sabine people are unlikely to be meant rather than Sabine territory, since H.'s wealth/ happiness consists in land not persons. We may compare the common elliptical use of [sc. *rus*] *Tusculanum* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *Tusculanus* b), and of the plural *rura* of the Sabine estate at 3.18.2 *per meos finis et aprica rura* (for *ager* of the same estate cf. *S.* 2.7.118 *agro . . . Sabino*); the plural is made easier if we recall that the poet's estate was composed of five separate households as well as H.'s villa (cf. *Ep.* 1.14.2 3).

15 truditur dies die 'day is driven on by day'; for the relentless pressing of time mirrored by case varied repetition of the relevant nouns cf. similarly *Epod.* 17.25 *urget diem nox et dies noctem,* N H here and Wills 1996: 191. For immediate repetition in H. in general cf. 2.14.1 2 n.

16 nouaeque pergunt interire lunae 'and new moons go on to perish', i.e. months/moons wax and wane in constant sequence (cf. 4.7.13 *damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae*). *luna* here refers to the moon's monthly cycle (*OLD* s.v. 2), moving to a longer time unit after *dies,* while *intereo* is a strong personification with *luna,* unparalleled elsewhere and suggesting human mortality, perhaps recalling *obeo* which can be used both of death and of the setting/disappearance of heavenly bodies (*OLD* s.v. 8, 9).

17 tu: a generalised diatribic addressee, not Maecenas; see introduction above. Lines 17 22 are best read as an indignant rhetorical question, typical of the diatribe mode (cf. 2.2.9 and e.g. Lucr. 3.1045 *tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire?*), followed by a further question at 23 6 and one at 32 (see n.).

17 18 secanda marmora | locas 'place a contract for the cutting of marbles', picking up the theme of luxury marble from lines 3 5; *secanda* (also picking up (a different kind of) marble cutting from 4 *recisas*) points

to the cutting of *crustae*, thin ornamental marble segments for *opus sectile*, luxury marble inlay to decorate floors and walls, known at Rome from the first century BCE (cf. Vitr. 7.1.4, Pliny *NH* 36.47 53, Dunbabin 1999: 254 67). For *locare* of placing contracts (as here with accusative and gerundive), a technical and prosaic usage, cf. *OLD* s.v. 5a (the contractor is the *redemptor* mentioned in a similar context of luxurious building at 3.1.35). Lines 18 19 (below) imply that the rich man ought to be more conscious that his end may come at any time and should be commissioning a different kind of *marmor*, a tomb (cf. Trimalchio's instructions to his architect at Petronius 71.1 4, and for marble tombs in this period cf. e.g. Ov. *Her.* 7.194). **sub ipsum funus** 'just before your funeral'. For *sub* in this temporal sense cf. *Epod.* 2.44, *OLD* s.v. 23a, and for a similar expression about improper behaviour late in life cf. 3.15.4 5 *maturo propior desine funeri* | *inter ludere virgines.*

18 19 sepulchri | immemor 'forgetful of your tomb', i.e. concerned with the wrong kind of marble edifice (see above) and forgetting the proximity of death; *sepulchri* picks up *funus*, and there is some play here on the standard idea of the tomb as itself a means of commemoration (cf. e.g. V. Fl. 4.314 *memori noscere sepulchro*). For the hiatus between lines see 8 9 n. **struis domos:** the simple *struo* (as opposed to the compound *construo*) is archaic and poetic (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2a); for the futility of building edifices that one may not live to enjoy as a topic of moralising discourse see especially Philodemus *De morte* 38.38 (Henry 2009: 90 1; for Philodemus as influential on H. see introduction to 2.5, above) and N H here. The plural *domos* (inverting the poet's single *domo* of line 2) is rhetorical; the notional addressee is imagined as suffering from building mania.

20 1 marisque Bais obstrepentis urges | summouere litora 'and you press on to shift the shores of the sea that roars against Baiae'; *urgeo* with infinitive (rare: *OLD* s.v. 12a cites only this passage) imitates the construction of verbs such as *festino* (*Ep.* 1.2.38, *OLD* s.v. 5b), while *obstrepo* is used of the noise of rough waters at 3.30.10 and esp. 4.14.47 8 *qui remotis* | *obstrepit Oceanus Britannis*, again followed by the standard dative (*OLD* s.v. 2a). The idea is of breaching the border between land and sea via coastal villas built out over the water, perverting the natural order in Roman moralising; cf. 3.1.33 4 *contracta pisces aequora sentiunt* | *iactis in altum molibus* with N R. Baiae on the bay of Naples was a stereotypical resort of dubious pleasure seeking (another moralising element implied here: cf. 3.4.24, Cic. *Cael.* 44, Prop. 1.11.1) and a traditional place for lavish seaside villas (cf. D'Arms 1970: 26 8, 104 7).

22 parum locuples continente ripa 'insufficiently rich in land with the confining coast'; this gives (ironically) the view of the greedy developer on

the restricted building area of the narrow shoreline, suggests again the immoral overriding of the land/sea divide, and provides an explicit con trast with the poet's contentment with his own estate at 14 *satis beatus unicis Sabinis*. The etymological connection of the relatively prosaic *locuples* (9x in H., but only here in the *Odes*) with *locus* ('rich in land': cf. Maltby 1991: 345) is felt here given the land/sea context; for the ablative construction of the sphere of riches (imitating *diues*) cf. *Ep.* 1.6.39, *OLD* s.v. 2, and for *ripa* in the sense of 'seashore' cf. 3.29.24 and *OLD* s.v. b.

23 quid quod 'what of the fact that . . . ?', a prosaic rhetorical transition common in Cicero but found in H. only here and at *Epod.* 8.15 (see Watson's note). **usque** 'continually' (2.9.4 n.), here of habitual undesir able action (cf. similarly Lucr. 3.1080).

23 4 proximos | reuellis agri terminos 'tear up the neighbouring estate's boundary stones' (*proximos* = *proximi* here, hypallage); the rhetorical plural (cf. 19 *domos*) suggests continuous expansion (cf. *usque*) and boundary violation, adding impious encroachment on land neighbours to the sea encroachment already on the moral chargesheet. For the sacred status of boundary stones at Rome since the earliest times see N H here; such stones were overseen by the god Terminus (cf. Huskey 1999). For *reuello* of ripping up stones cf. Cic. *Arat.* 427 Traglia *saxa reuellens*, and the imitation in a similar context of a bad neighbour at [Quint.] *Decl. Mai.* 13.2 *postquam proximos quosque reuellendo terminos ager locupletis latius inundauit.*

24 6 et ultra | limites clientium | salis auarus? 'and leap over the bound aries of your clients in your greed ?'; the invidiously characterising rheto rical plurals continue, and the adjective *auarus*, which expresses the key idea of the poem, is postponed to an emphatic final position. The vivid image of leaping, a further immoral boundary transgression (23 4 n.), recalls the equally impious jump of Remus over the wall of Romulus (cf. Livy 1.7.2 *nouos transiluisse muros*), while the oppression of clients it repre sents was forbidden in the early Twelve Tables at Rome and was a major moral offence (cf. Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 6.609). These *clientes* recall the *clientae* which the poet claims not to have at line 8; the man of moderate means is not troubled with dependents of any kind.

26 7 pellitur paternos | in sinu ferens deos: note the forceful alliteration and the emphatically initially placed *pellitur* = *expellitur* (for the sense construction of singular verb with plural subject cf. 2.1.20 n.). The phrase *paterni dei* is found again at Livy 40.10.2; here the adjective suggests generations of tenancy now cruelly ended (cf. *Epod.* 2.3 *paterna rura*), and the phrase overall (like 2.7.4 *dis patriis*) indicates the *penates* or house hold gods (so Porph.). The family in retreat carrying their *penates* recalls Aeneas' departure into exile from Troy as familiarly depicted in literature

and art (cf. e.g. Virg. *A.* 2.707 20, Ov. *Fast.* 4.78 *attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos, LIMC* I s.v. *Aineias*); the evocation of the pious founder of the Roman race in this depiction of abused refugee peasants is ironic and pathetic and matches the allusion to the founder of the city of Rome in 24 6.

28 et uxor et uir sordidosque natos: a pathetic family group, recalling that of Lucr. 3.894 5 *iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor | optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati*; note the rising tricolon and careful order (the husband is set between his dependents). *sordidus* suggests both the literal griminess of peasant children (*OLD* s.v. 2) and their 'meanness', i.e. low social status (*OLD* s.v. 4a); for *sordidus* similarly of humble rustic people and habitations cf. Virg. *E.* 2.28 9 *sordida rura | atque humilis . . . casas*, Luc. 4.396 (using H.) *iam coniunx natique rudes et sordida tecta*, and compare 2.10.7 8 *obsoleti | sordibus tecti.*

29 32 nulla certior tamen | rapacis Orci fine destinata | aula diuitem manet | erum 'yet no palace awaits the rich master more surely than the end fixed by rapacious Hades'; *destinata* goes with *fine* not *aula* (for feminine *finis* cf. *Epod.* 17.36), while *erum* surely goes with *diuitem* as the object of *manet* (so K H, Quinn, West, Rudd 1974), contrasting with *clientium* in 25, rather than belonging to the next sentence as the object of *tendis* ('extend the role of master'). For the inevitability of death even for the rich man and the consequent futility of his wealth, a recurring theme in this book, cf. e.g. 2.3.17 20, 2.14.17 28, 2.16.17 32 and Introduction, section 3. The fixed and palatial abode of Death (cf. *Ep.* 1.7.58 *lare certo*) for the rich master here contrasts with the all too insecure and humble home of his poor evicted tenants (28), but of course it is their destination too (cf. 32 4 below); for *aula* as 'royal palace' (suggesting the royal status of Orcus/Hades, king of the underworld, here surely seen as a person; for Orcus see 2.3.24 and N H here) cf. 2.10.7 8 n. For *rapax* of personified Death see Maltby on Tib. 1.3.65, and for the rapacity of death in general cf. 2.17.5 n.; for *finis* of the appointed end of life cf. *Ep.* 2.1.12, *OLD* s.v. 10a (a usage first found in H., perhaps following Greek τέλος; see LSJ s.v. II.3), and for *destinare* of the fixed time of death cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.63 *ad horam mortis destinatam, Off.* 3.45 *cum . . . diem necis destinauisset.* For the hiatus between dimeter and trimeter here (*destinata | aula*) cf. 8 9 n. **quid ultra tendis?** 'why do you strain beyond this?' (for adverbial *ultra* cf. 2.13.15). For the terse rhetorical question with the same verb in a different sense in H. cf. 3.3.70 *quo, Musa, tendis?*; here in the context of death it recalls Lucretian diatribe; cf. Lucr. 3.935 *quid mortem congemis ac fles?*

32 4 aequa tellus | pauperi recluditur | regumque pueris 'the earth is opened impartially for the poor man and for the sons of kings'. For *aequus* of the impartiality of death cf. *OLD* s.v. 6, for the poetic *tellus* cf. 2.1.26 7

n., for *recludo* in the sense of 'open up' the earth by digging (i.e. in burial) cf. *OLD* s.v. 3a, and for the poetic use of *puer* = *filius* cf. N H on 1.19.2, Brink on *AP* 83 and *OLD* s.v. 2; these sons of kings contrast pointedly with the peasant children of line 28, and look forward to the doomed dynasty of Tantalus in lines 37 8 (note that *pueris* requires a resolution of a long syllable into two shorts; see Introduction, section 7). The language here is especially close to 1.4.13 14 *pallida mors aequo pulsat pede | pauperum tabernas regumque turris* (for *pauper* again in this context cf. 2.3.22, for *rex* 2.14.11). The idea of death as the equaliser of rich and poor (like that of its certainty for all, see 29 32 above) is a recurring topic in the *Odes* and in this book (cf. 1.4.13 14 with N H, 2.3.21 4, 2.14.11 12, 3.1.14 15 and N H here, Introduction, section 3). **satelles Orci** 'the attendant of Orcus'; the repetition of the name after 30 *Orci* emphasises the infernal king's control of his domain via his servants. Allen 2003 proposes *Orcus* for *Orci*, arguing that Death himself fits the powers of 36 8, but the descrip tion of the lofty Hades as *satelles* is perhaps too ironic. The identity of this underworld assistant of Death has been much debated, and is closely connected with the textual choice at 36 (*reuexit* or *reuinxit*, see below). N H and West go for Mercury as *psychopompos*, escort of the dead (cf. 1.10.17 20) and *reuinxit*, while Charon as ferryman and *reuexit* are favoured by K H and Quinn. It seems better to think of Mercury here: in later texts he is seen as a subordinate of Hades (cf. e.g. Statius *Theb.* 8.48 9, Claud. *De Rapt.* 1.76 117), and though the role of *satelles* (cf. *OLD* s.v.1) suits the lowly Charon particularly well (he is addressed as Ἀίδεω λυπηρὲ διήκονε, 'miserable attendant of Hades' in the Hellenistic epigrammatist Leonidas of Tarentum, *AP* 7.67.1), the divine powers of 37 40 fit Mercury much better than Charon, and he can be similarly referred to as δαιμόνων λάτριν, 'the servant of the gods' (Eur. *Ion* 4).

35 callidum Promethea: cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 616, where Zeus' bonds are said to confine Prometheus despite his craftiness (καὶ πολύιδριν ἐόντα μέγας κατὰ δεσμὸς ἐρύκει). For Prometheus' traditional cleverness see Hesiod *Theog.* 511 with West's note, [Aesch.] *PV* 944, Catull. 64.294, and for his location in the underworld along with Tantalus cf. 2.13.37 n.

36 reuexit 'conveyed back'; the MSS are split between this reading and *reui(n)xit*, 'unbound'. The latter might suggest the later loosing of Prometheus' bonds (see last note) by Hercules, but *reuexit* seems better, stressing that though Mercury can escort souls both ways between world and underworld (cf. e.g. Virg. *A.* 4.242 3), he could not do this for Prometheus, who here as in 2.13 seems to be condemned permanently to Hades by Jupiter (2.13.37 n.) rather than chained to a rock in the Caucasus. **auro captus** 'bribed by gold' (for *capio* in this sense see *OLD* s.v. 19b). Mercury like his master Death cannot be bribed; cf. *Ep.* 2.2.178 9

Orcus | . . . *non exorabilis auro* with Brink's note, N H on 2.14.5. This may refer to a lost mythological story where Prometheus attempts such bribery; N H suggest that this appeared in the lost *Prometheus* of Maecenas, about the contents of which virtually nothing is known (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 9.19). Though bribing a god seems sure to fail even in the hands of the ingenious Prometheus, Mercury is perhaps the most suitable divine target for bribery as the main divinity concerned with financial gain (cf. 1.30.8 with N H, *S.* 2.3.24 6).

36 8 hic . . . **hic:** the prayer like anaphora of the pronoun and the powers and functions point to the divine status of Mercury. The juxtaposition of the first *hic* with *superbum* is pointed; even the arrogant Tantalus must submit to Mercury's authority. **superbum | Tantalum atque Tantali | genus** 'proud Tantalus and Tantalus' progeny'; for the elegant case varia tion in a context of family relations cf. *Epod.* 17.42 3 *Castor* . . . | *fraterque magni Castoris,* Wills 1996: 33 41 (tracing it back to Homer), and for framing a single line with different forms of the same proper name cf. Virg. *E.* 5.52, Wills 1996: 429 30. For Tantalus as a traditional sinner in the underworld since Homer cf. 2.13.37 (with n.), where he is again paired with Prometheus; for his arrogance see Pind. *O.* 1.55 65. For *Tantali genus* cf. 2.14.18 *Danai genus* with n.; as at Sen. *Thy.* 80 *progenies impia Tantali,* the reference encompasses the house of Atreus (grandson of Tantalus) with all its notorious family crimes, especially Atreus and the killing and eating of Thyestes' children, here thought to be worthy of infernal punishment (envisaged for Atreus at Sen. *Thy.* 1006 19). The reference to a royal dynasty here picks up that at 34 *regumque pueris.* **coercet** 'confines', used similarly of the infernal imprisonment of souls at Virg. *A.* 6.478 80 *quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo* | *Cocyti tardaque palus inamabilis unda* | *alligat et nouies Styx interfusa coercet.* **leuare** 'relieve', contrasting with the constraint of *coercet*; for death as relief from the burden of life's troubles cf. N H here and Publ. Syr. B 30 *mors miserum leuat.* This verb is also used of Mercury inspired alleviation at the end of the previous poem (2.17.29 *leuasset*); syntactically it seems to be governed by *uocatus atque non uocatus,* 'whether called upon or not to relieve' (for a similar poetic infinitive construction after *inuito* cf. Virg. *A.* 5.486).

38 9 functum | . . . **laboribus** 'finished with his labours', i.e. in death: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.115 *qui labores morte finisset grauis* = Eur. fr. 449.3 *TGF* τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον, Soph. *Trach.* 170 ἐκτελευτᾶσθαι πόνων. **pauperem:** picks up 33 *pauperi,* just as *Tantalum atque Tantali* | *genus* picks up 34 *regumque pueris* (see above). The juxtaposition with *laboribus* suggests that the poor man particularly welcomes death as relief from a life of tribulations; cf. e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 51.20 *in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse.*

40 uocatus atque non uocatus 'whether bidden or unbidden'; compare Thucydides' summary of a Delphic oracle (1.118.3 [Apollo] καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος, 'and he said he would aid them whether invited or uncalled', cf. also 6.86.2). Here the point is that every one must in time accept Mercury's services whether asked for or not (cf. 2.3.27 8 n.), and *uoco* plays on two senses, that of calling on gods in prayer (cf. 1.2.25, 1.30.2, 1.32.16, *Epod.* 5.5, *OLD* s.v. 1b) and that of hailing the ferryman (for *uocare* of summoning attendance cf. 2.19.5 6 n.). **audit:** this verb is used of a god hearing prayers at 1.2.27 and 3.23.3 (cf. *OLD* s.v. *audio* 10b) and is conjoined with *uocatus* at Virg. *G.* 4.7 *auditque uocatus Apollo.* The ode finishes like 1.10 with Mercury as *psychopompos*, highlight ing a divine figure in action who is connected with the suitably 'closural' region of the underworld (for death as a closural element cf. Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997: 310, and for closural vignettes in H. cf. Esser 1976: 199 228), and emphasising a god whose protection H. claims for himself elsewhere (2.17.29 30 n.).

19 SUMMARY

I saw a vision of Bacchus teaching his followers in the wilderness; I am now inspired with the Bacchic spirit. Spare me, Bacchus! (1 8). It is right for me to sing of your miraculous transformations of nature and awesome dealings with mortals (9 16). You have great powers in the world, and fought mightily in defence of Olympus against the giants, though more suited to leisure activ ities; you subdued even the fearsome Cerberus in the underworld (17 32).

Metre

Alcaics (cf. Introduction, section 7).

This is one of the two poems in *Odes* 2 to a non human addressee (the other is 2.13, addressed to a tree); like 3.25, it is in the form of a hymn to Bacchus (compare also 1.10, a hymn to Mercury, and the hymnic first section of 3.11, also to Mercury), though its opening vision scenario is unusual for a hymnic poem (as Syndikus notes). There are no closely datable elements, though lines 21 4 are likely to be post Actium; 31 27 BCE seems not unlikely (Koster 1994b: 69). The poet's encounter with an inspiring divinity is a topic that goes back to Hesiod's *Theogony* (see Kambylis 1965); it is interesting that H. chooses Bacchus as his inspiring deity rather than the Apollo of Callimachus (fr.1 Pf.) or Virgil (*Eclogue* 6); the poet is surely conscious of appropriating a god whose primary generic association was with Attic tragedy, a rather different form of writing, and this link with a theoretically 'higher' literary genre perhaps reflects the

poet's ambition as the collection approaches Book 3 and the elevated Roman Odes (see Introduction).

Liber, the Roman form of Dionysus/Bacchus, is a traditional god of poetry and a character in famous literary texts (duly drawn on for the accounts of his deeds in lines 9 32; see comm.). Hymns to Dionysus go back to those transmitted amongst the Homeric Hymns (the fragmentary 1, the 59 line 7 and very brief 26), though H. avoids the main topics of those poems (the god's escape from Tyrrhenian pirates and his early life in Nysa). The desire to echo the atmosphere of the dithyrambs of Greek lyric poetry may also be a feature here: these were originally exuberant choral poems in praise of Dionysus (cf. Archilochus fr.120 W), though the extant works and fragments with this title show a rather broader range of topics (see Kowalzig and Wilson 2013) and none of them seems to be drawn on here. A wider currency for the theme of Dionysiac inspiration in Greek lyric is suggested by a fragment of a *hyporchema* (dance song) by Pratinas describing ecstatic dancing while possessed by the god (fr.1 *PMG*) and by the extensive strophic paean to Dionysus composed by Philodamus in the fourth century BCE (*Collectanea Alexandrina* pp.165 71).

A prime Greek source for the description of Bacchus in the poem (see Pöschl 1973: 216) is the most memorable description of Dionysiac cult in Greek literature, that of Euripides' *Bacchae.* Dionysus' earthquake rocking of Pentheus' palace at *Ba.* 585 603 is recalled in detail in lines 14 15 (see n.), and lines 9 12 (see n.) are closely indebted to the descriptions of Bacchic miracle working at *Ba.* 142 3 ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον, ῥεῖ δ' οἴνωι, | ῥεῖ δὲ μελισσᾶν νέκταρι, 'the ground ran with milk, ran with wine, ran with the nectar of bees', and *Ba.*707 11:

καὶ τῆιδε κρήνην ἐξανῆκ' οἴνου θεός·
ὅσαις δὲ λευκοῦ πώματος πόθος παρῆν,
ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι διαμῶσαι χθόνα
γάλακτος ἑσμοὺς εἶχον· ἐκ δὲ κισσίνων
θύρσων γλυκεῖαι μέλιτος ἔσταζον ῥοαί.

And by means of this (staff) the god unleashed a spring of wine; and for those who had a desire for the white drink, scratching the ground with their finger tips they had streams of milk; and sweet flows of honey began to drip from the ivy thyrsi.

Horace's poem also seems to be influenced by several Latin passages. Lucretius 4.580 1 suggests that the strange echoes to be found in wild places are often falsely ascribed by local people to nature divinities: *haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere | finitimi fingunt et faunos esse loquuntur.* H.'s rhetorical urging that his vision was a true one at 3 4 reverses this claim in echoing its vocabulary, but his ironic presentation of the

supposed epiphany suggests no great difference from his fellow Epicurean poet. Two poems from the early 20s BCE are also influential. The final vignette of Cerberus subdued echoes Orpheus' similar action in the fourth book of Virgil's *Georgics*, published *c.*29 (29 32 n.), but the overall form of the poem as a hymn to Bacchus appears to look to Tibullus 1.7, published *c.*27/26. There the poet praises Osiris, the Egyptian version of Dionysus/ Bacchus, in terms similar in both form and content (1.7.33 48):

hic docuit teneram palis adiungere uitem,
  hic uiridem dura caedere falce comam;
illi iucundos primum matura sapores 35
  expressa incultis uua dedit pedibus.
ille liquor docuit uoces inflectere cantu,
  mouit et ad certos nescia membra modos,
Bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore
  pectora laetitiae dissoluenda dedit. 40
Bacchus et adflictis requiem mortalibus adfert,
  crura licet dura conpede pulsa sonent.
non tibi sunt tristes curae nec luctus, Osiri,
  sed chorus et cantus et leuis aptus amor,
sed uarii flores et frons redimita corymbis, 45
  fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes
et Tyriae uestes et dulcis tibia cantu
  et leuis occultis conscia cista sacris.

The fourfold third person pronoun introducing the god's aretalogy (*hic* ... *hic* ... *illi* ... *ille*) is matched by the fourfold second person pronoun doing the same in H.'s ode (*tu* ... *tu* ... *tu* ... *tu*), and H.'s poem picks up from Tibullus' the point that Osiris/Bacchus is suited to pleasure including dancing (1.7.44 *chorus* ... *aptus* ~ 2.19.25 *choreis aptior*). Tibullus' emphasis on Bacchus' teaching of agricultural skills might also be echoed in the god's musical instruction in H. (1.7.33, 37 *docuit* ~ 2.19.2 *docentem*).

A further source for the hymnic material in H.'s ode seems to be the tradition of Hellenistic aretalogy. Henrichs 1978 has pointed out that the poem's sequence of epiphanic divine vision followed by thankful praise of the god for a miracle (in H.'s case, the inspiration of his poetry) has close parallels in Hellenistic and later aretalogies preserved in inscriptions and papyri; this material provides interesting parallels for *uidi* (2 n.) and *credite posteri* (2 n.). As Henrichs himself suggests (211), this does not make the poem a literal narrative of religious experience, but shows how H. can incorporate recognisably religious discourse into his poetic fiction (see also Krasser 1995: 109 11).

Structurally, the poem falls into two halves (for a fuller structural analysis see Pöschl 1973: 222 5). In the first, itself divided into two, the first two stanzas report the poet's vision and confused state of mind, while the third and fourth (strongly linked by their paired initial *fas*) suggest the god's remarkable powers to transform nature, with the third stanza focuss ing on positive and creative miracles, and the third adding the more negative and violent aspects of Dionysiac power as unleashed against Pentheus and Lycurgus. These powers are then formalised in the aretalogy of the poem's second half, which uses standard *Du Stil* (addressing the god with the second person pronoun) to give further achievements from his career; again these fall into positive aspects in the fifth stanza (more manipulations of nature) and the more violent element of the Gigantomachy in the sixth stanza, with the seventh stanza overtly claiming Bacchus as a god of both war and peace; the fifth and sixth stanzas are neatly paired by their initially positioned *tu*, picked up in the similarly initial *te* of the last stanza. The final stanza provides a natural closure (as in 2.3) with its vignette of the underworld and the domain of death, a neat link with 2.20 and its topic of the poet's (non) death; 2.19 and 2.20 are also linked by the theme of fantasy and metamorphosis (see Introduction section 3 and Cucchiarelli 2006: 85 8). The echo of *uidi* (2) in *uidit* (29), both of seeing Bacchus (in this world and the next), provides a neat element of ring composition between the first and final stanzas, and the final vignette (picturing the tamed Cerberus) is a common form of closure in the *Odes* (cf. e.g. 2.5.21 4 and Esser 1976: 199 228).

Modern interpreters have generally regarded this poem as an entertain ing fantasy, and have been inclined to deny it much serious content. However, as often, H. provides a mixture of entertainment and more important material. The opening vision of Bacchus indeed seems to exploit the common literary topic of the poet's vision of an inspiring deity rather than provide a convincingly intense report of profound reli gious experience. But the poem also implies an elevation of the poet's status and can be connected with serious political issues (see below). This combination prepares the reader for some aspects of the Roman Odes in H.'s next book, close in sequence in the collection of *Odes* 1 3: there whimsical visions can likewise be paired with serious claims about his poetic status and substantive content (cf. Lowrie 1997: 187 265). For example, in 3.4.5 20 H. imagines himself transported to a magic land scape of inspiration and recounts the fantastic story of being saved by birds as a child, but then in the major section of the same poem (3.4.21 80) he turns to Augustus and a clearly allegorical reading of the Gigantomachy as a reflection of recent Roman history (cf. Lowrie 1997: 238 42).

Interpreters have often been unclear as to why the figure of Bacchus is chosen here. Apart from the literary motivation of echoing elements of the

dithyramb and other traditions of Dionysiac praise (see above), there are at least two further possible reasons for Bacchus' selection: political and symbolic. Politically and culturally, the figure of Bacchus has important connections in the 20s BCE (Schiesaro 2009, Cucchiarelli 2011a, 2011b, Fuhrer 2011, Mac Góráin 2012 13, 2013). In the 30s Antony had made considerable use of self comparison with Osiris/Dionysus in Egypt (Plut. *Ant.* 33.6 with Pelling's commentary), and after Actium it seems clear that this divine identity (like that of Hercules: Plut. *Ant.* 4.2 with Pelling's commentary) was appropriated by the future Augustus, in the form of the more Roman Bacchus/Liber (the name Dionysus occurs only once, ironically (*S.* 1.6.38) in Horace and never in Virgil or Propertius). This analogy was important in Augustan self presentation because Bacchus (like Hercules) was an example of a man deified for benefits to humankind: thus in 3.3.9 16 Bacchus is included with Pollux, Hercules and Romulus as parallels for Augustus' future apotheosis. Bacchus' military role, stressed in this poem, was also important for Augustus: at *Aeneid* 6.801 5 the victorious Augustus after Actium is compared to the world traversers Hercules and Bacchus. The prominence in the poem of Bacchus' part in the Gigantomachy also suggests some parallels with the Augustan imagery of the battle of Actium, which could be presented as analogous to that mythological struggle (21 4 n.). Stevens 1999 and Koster 1994b provide elaborate readings of 2.19 in terms of this political allegory; they perhaps take it too far, but it seems hard to deny any such significance in the poem. It has also been speculatively proposed that the shrine of Bacchus mentioned by Martial (1.70.9) on the Sacra Via, close to the Palatine and near Augustus' house, was constructed in the Augustan period (see Rodríguez Almeida 1993), suggesting an architectural association between the *princeps* and the deity.

Symbolically, it also seems hard to reject the idea that Bacchus in some sense parallels the lyric poet himself (Pöschl 1973: 228). In the opening stanza we find him teaching his *carmina* to a set of mythic subordinates of both sexes, just as Horace will present himself in 3.1.1 4 singing his *carmina* to an audience of boys and girls (cf. Lowrie 1997: 207), and later in real life taught a mixed chorus for the *Carmen Saeculare* (2 n.), while at 1.1.29 32 the poet states that it is association with remote locations and with groups of satyrs and nymphs (both paralleled in the opening vignette of 2.19) which separates him from normal people and links him with the gods, elements which are picked up here:

Me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leues cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo.

Like the poet in the *Odes* and in real life, Bacchus in his career can rise to serious battles though by nature he is disposed to a life of sympotic

pleasure (note that the Gigantomachy of 21 4 is a Horatian theme again at 3.4.69 76). And just as the poet imagines for himself in 2.13.21 40, Bacchus can descend to the underworld. In 3.25 Bacchus is seen as the inspiration for Horatian lyric and especially for its application to Augustan victories (appropriately, given the Augustus/Bacchus links discussed above); in 2.19 his wide ranging actions and deeds again suggest the range covered by the lyric poet himself, who can also be compared to the god in personal suitability for both peace and war (27 8 n.).

This poem (along with its pair, 3.25) was clearly popular with H.'s immediate poetic successors. Propertius 3.17 amusingly follows H.'s lead in appropriating Bacchus for his own genre of elegy, citing the god's love for Ariadne and clearly referring to H.'s poem at several points (see Jósefowicz 1974), while Ovid's *Met.* 4 has a hymnic section to Bacchus at its beginning which likewise echoes *Odes* 2.19 in a number of places (*Met.* 4.11 30 with Bömer's note).

Select bibliography

Pöschl 1973; Henrichs 1978; Batinski 1990 91; Davis 1991: 107 11; Koster 1994b; Krasser 1995: 108 11, 119 27, 138 41; Lowrie 1997: 205 10; Stevens 1999.

1 Bacchum the hymnic poem begins in the style of the Homeric Hymns with the name of the god (cf. e.g. *Homeric Hymns* 2.1, 4.1. 8.1, 9.1, Callimachus *H.*1.1, 3.1). **in remotis** . . . **rupibus:** wild mountainous land scapes (especially Thrace) were often associated with Bacchus and his cult in literature (see N R on 3.25.13 14), especially in the context of epi phany as here (cf. Petridou 2015; 196 206) but also with poets, especially since Hesiod in the context of poetic initiation (cf. Kambylis 1965). **car mina:** perhaps dithyrambs, the non dramatic poetic form most closely associated with Bacchus (see introduction), sung and danced by a chorus such as the nymphs and satyrs might provide, but also (inevitably) recal ling that this poem is one of H.'s own *carmina* in the *Odes* (e.g. 3.1.2; see introduction above).

2 uidi strongly stresses the personal experience of the vision; the first person claim to have seen the god is a key element in the Hellenistic tradition of aretalogies (testimonies to divine power); see Henrichs 1978: 209 10. **docentem:** teaching by repetition, the usual way of instructing an ancient chorus, whether in lyric or tragedy; the similar self description at 4.6.43 4 of a chorus member for H.'s own later *Carmen Saeculare*, perhaps trained by H. himself (4.6.43 4 *reddidi carmen docilis modorum* | *uatis Horati*) adds to the impression that Bacchus is here

parallel to the poet (see introduction). Given the later prominence of tragedy in this poem in lines 9 16, one might also think of the traditional representation of the Attic tragedians as civic instructors (cf. e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 1053 6). **credite posteri:** an appeal to readers for belief in a miraculous epiphany which appears in the aretalogy tradition (Henrichs 1978: 210 n.28), here with some irony (H.'s original readers were unlikely to take his fantastic vision at face value). H. uses the reverse of this idea in a similar parenthesis at *Epod.* 9.11 *posteri negabitis.*

3 4 Nymphasque ... **Satyrorum:** nymphs and satyrs were traditional companions of Dionysus in literature and art (see N H here and *LIMC* II s.v. *Bacchus* 94, 109, *Dionysos* 308, 421); the pairing recalls Lucr. 4.580 *satyros nymphasque* and the poet's link with these two groups at 1.1.30 1 (see introduction for both elements). **discentis:** balances *docentem* in sense as well as participial form (he teaches, they learn by heart). **acutas** 'sharp eared' in both the metaphorical (*OLD* s.v. 5a) and literal sense (*OLD* s.v. 2b); for the pointed ears of satyrs see e.g. *LIMC* II s.v. *Dionysos* 291, 300. **capripedum** echoes Lucr. 4.580 *capripedes satyros* (see introduc tion); the compound epithet 'goat footed' echoes traditional Greek poetic terms for Pan such as αἰγιπόδης (*Hom. Hymn.* 19.2) and τραγόπους (Meleager *AP* 7.535.2).

5 euhoe: disyllabic transliteration of the Greek traditional Bacchic cry εὐοῖ (Eur. *Ba.* 141), ritually repeated at line 7 (as often in Greek contexts) and already found in Latin in Plautus and Catullus (see Horsfall on Virg. *A.* 7.389); it should be written lower case as it is an onomatopoeic cry and not a cult title. **recenti:** the vision is represented forcefully as one freshly experienced. **trepidat metu:** fear or awe is a natural reaction to a divine epiphany (cf. e.g. Virg. *A.* 4.279 with Pease's note, Ov. *Fast.* 6.19 20).

6 plenoque Bacchi pectore: a second causal ablative after *trepidat* the poet trembles with fear and 'a mind full of Bacchus'. The reference here is primarily to an inspired mind dominated by the god (cf. e.g. Ov. *Medea* fr. 2 Courtney *plena deo*), but there is also an element of alcoholic occupation of the drinker's consciousness (cf. Tib. 1.7. 39 40, cited in introduction above). Thus 'Bacchus' can mean 'wine' here as well as the god, by the traditional 'god for thing' metonymy (*OLD* s.v. 2b, Fordyce on Virg. *A.* 7.113). Poetic inspiration and alcoholic possession similarly co exist in H.'s other poem on Bacchus, 3.25.

6 7 turbidum | laetatur 'rejoices confusedly'; the adverbial neuter singu lar *turbidum* is a poetic alternative for the adverb *turbide* (see N H here); adjective and verb fit the mental disturbance and exhilaration of both divine possession and intoxication (cf. Sall. *Hist.* fr. 4.11.2 *uino ciboque laeti*). **Liber:** this Roman title for Bacchus, 'the Liberator', echoes Greek

Λυαῖος and goes back at least to Ennius (*Trag.* 352 J; cf. Naevius *Trag.* 113 R); for its use in cult and elsewhere cf. Bruhl 1953.

7 8 parce ... **parce:** ritual repetition as with *euhoe* ... *euhoe* (5, 7); for this feature in prayers cf. 4.1.2 *precor precor, Epod.* 17.7 *solue solue.* **graui meteunde thyrso** 'to be feared for your terrible thyrsus'; for the construction cf. 1.12.23 4 *metuende certa* | *Phoebe sagitta. grauis* echoes the Greek poetic use of βαρύς in the sense of 'formidable' (*OLD* s.v. 14, LSJ s.v. I.2). The *thyrsus* (θύρσος), only here in H., was the ivy entwined wand of Bacchus which was regarded as having magic powers (see Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 113), and as linked with poetic inspiration (Lucr. 1.923); the latter element is clearly relevant here alongside the function of the thyrsus as a weapon, since Bacchus is supposed to have killed giants with it in the Gigantomachy (Eur. *Ion* 216 18).

9 12 This stanza stresses Bacchus' positively miraculous powers to trans form nature into a bountiful provider, drawing extensively on Euripides' *Bacchae.*

9 fas: emphatically repeated in the same stanza initial position in 13; the hymnic convention of praising the god allows the telling of his virtues, especially for the poet who has had the rare privilege of seeing him. **per uicaces:** the traditional tirelessness of the divinely possessed see 3.25.9 *exsomnis* ... *Euhias* and N H here. **Thyiadas:** another name for Maenads, derived from θύω, 'rage, seethe' (see N R on 3.15.10), and found in Latin before H. only at Catull. 64.391.

10 12 uinique fontem lactis et uberes | cantare riuos atque truncis | lapsa cauis iterare mella: the miraculous and instant production of usually painstakingly extracted wine, milk and honey closely matches the won der working of Bacchus in Eur. *Ba.* 142 3 and 707 11 (see introduction for the full Greek texts), especially in two high style poetic phrases; *uini* ... *fontem* precisely echoes *Ba.* 707 κρήνην ... οἴνου, while *lactis* ... *riuos* nicely varies *Ba.* 711 μέλιτος ... ῥοαί, transferring streams from honey to milk; the adjective *uberes* also suggests its cognate *uber*, 'udder', the normal and non miraculous source of milk (cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1.10.110). *iterare* wittily suggests repetition of an established literary topic as well as of the god's traditional story, Conte's 'poetic memory' (Conte 1986: 60 1), while *cantare* with its stress on lyric singing emphasises that this material has moved from the conventionally spoken iambics of tragedy to the conventionally sung lyric metres of the *Odes. truncis* | *lapsa cauis* ... *mella:* for this as a miraculous sign cf. *Epod.* 16.47 *mella caua manant ex ilice* with Watson's note; *lapsa* picks up ἔσταζον at Eur. *Ba.* 711 (see introduction), and for the poetic plural *mella* see 2.6.14 16 n. Hollow trees are of course a natural place for bees to settle and produce honey (Virg. *G.* 4.44, Ov. *Am.* 3.8.40, *Fast.* 3.743 4; the last (in a passage echoing this poem) claims that Liber invented the practice).

13 16 This stanza initially continues the theme of positive transformation in the figure of Ariadne, but then turns to more negative metamorphoses in the earthquake at Pentheus' palace and the destruction of Lycurgus.

13 fas: see on *fas* 9 n.

13 14 beatae coniugis additum | stellis honorem: a reference to the catasterism of Ariadne's wedding crown after her marriage to Bacchus, a favourite subject of Hellenistic poets (Call. *Aet.* fr. 110.59 60 Pf., Ap. Rh. 3.1001 3, Aratus *Phaen.* 71 2, and Eratosthenes' lost *Catasterismi*: on the last see conveniently Condos 1997: 87 91) and their Roman imitators (Cic. *Arat.* fr. 3 Traglia, Catull. 66.59 60 [translating Callimachus], Virg. *G.* 1.222). *beatae* means 'honoured' (cf. 4.8.29 *caelo Musa beat*) as well as 'fortunate' (cf. e.g. 2.6.21), while *addere* is standard for adding a constellation to the existing heavens (Virg. *G.* 1.32, Germ. *Arat.* 72), and *honorem* can allude both to the honour of catasterism and to the beauty of Ariadne (for *honor* in this physical sense cf. 2.11.9 *floribus ... honor, OLD* s.v. 6a). Koster 1994a: 63 sees an allegorical reference to Livia here as consort of Bacchus/Augustus.

14 15 tectaque Penthei | disiecta non leni ruina 'and the palace of Pentheus smashed in no gentle collapse'. This refers to Dionysus' use of an earthquake to shake the palace of Pentheus at Eur. *Ba.* 585 603 and particularly echoes 587 8 τάχα τὰ Πενθέως μέλαθρα διατι | νάξεται πεσήμασιν, 'soon the house of Pentheus will be shaken apart with fallings' (note the similar compound verb and poetic plural). The disyllabic *Penthei* contains a final synizesis regular in proper names with this ending in H. (2.7.5 n.). The high style litotes (cf. 2.16.39 40 n.) *non leni* puns ironically on Bacchus' title of *Lenaeus* (see N R on 3.25.19), a word play found elsewhere (Maltby 1991: 333). The mildness implied in the god's name is not evident in his actions here; cf. the similarly litotic *Sithoniis non leuis Euhius* at 1.18.9 (another reference to the destruction of Lycurgus). Pentheus' subsequent death is also anticipated in the participle *disiecta*, which suggests the *sparagmos* of his limbs as well as the collapse of the palace cf. *S.* 1.4.62 *inuenies etiam disiecta membra poetae* with Gowers' note and esp. Sen. *Phaed.* 1256 *disiecta ... membra laceri corporis.*

16 Thracis et exitium Lycurgi: the death of the Thracian king Lycurgus, like Pentheus a monarch who refused to recognise the god's identity (the two are regularly paired as such after H.; cf. Prop. 3.17.23 4, Ov. *Met.* 4.22 3, *Fast.* 3.721 2, *Tr.* 5.3.39 40), was narrated in the Lycurgus tetralogy of Aeschylus and the lost *Lycurgus* of Naevius; see N H here, West 1990: 26 50 and Lattanzi 1994. *Thracis* (emphatically placed before its noun and at the head of its clause) stresses the Thracian

barbarism of Lycurgus (for this stereotype see N H on 1.27.2) and also provides a neat transition to the Thracian locations in 18 20; Koster 1994b: 64 sees an allusion to the Thracian location of the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, enemies parallel to Lycurgus, at Philippi. *exitium* is a word of high poetic level used by H. only in the *Odes* (5 times), suiting the tragic context here (cf. 1.16.17 18 *irae Thyesten exitio graui | strauere,* another story from tragedy).

17 20 In this stanza the triple *tu*, using traditional religious *Du Stil* (see on 2.8.21 2), addresses the god formally in hymn form; the present tenses here reflect actions generally characteristic of the god but in some cases linked to particular occasions; for this kind of tense usage in hymns see e.g. Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 385.

17 flectis amnes ... **mare barbarum:** further miraculous transformations of nature after those of 10 16. The diverting of rivers seems to have been a theme of Bacchus' travels from Asia to Greece (for river crossing in this journey see Eur. *Ba.* 568 9), while the diverting of the 'barbarian sea' appears to refer to an encounter or encounters with the Indian Ocean or Red Sea; cf. Sen. *HF* 903 *Lycurgi domitor et rubri maris* (looking back to H.) with Fitch's note and N H here.

18 separatis ... **in iugis:** picks up 1 *in remotis* ... *rupibus*; the Thracian (i.e. distant northern) location implied by 20 *Bistonidum* suggests that *separatis* means 'isolated' (cf. Porphyrio here and *OLD* s.v. b). For the *iuga* (moun tain ridges) of Thrace as a Bacchic location cf. 3.25.8 10 *in iugis | exsomnis stupet Euhias | Hebrum prospiciens. separatis* ... *iugis* is an oxymoron given the perceived etymology of *iugum* from *iungere* (Maltby 1991: 317). **uuidus** 'soaked', i.e. 'drunk', a usage first found in H. (here and 4.5.39), parallel ing that of *madidus* (*OLD* s.v. 6) and matching Greek ὑγρός (LSJ s.v. II.4). It is very rare for Dionysus to be described as drunk in Greek culture, a role usually performed by his associate Silenus (my thanks to Albert Henrichs for this information).

19 nodo coerces uiperino: for the snakes woven in the hair of Maenads cf. Eur. *Ba.* 101 2; in *coerces* Bacchus is said to do what his followers do under his influence. *nodo coerces* ironically suggests a restrained female coiffure (cf. 2.11.23 4 *in comptum Lacaenae | more comas religata nodum* with n.), while *uiperinus* is an elevated word first found in tragedy (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.33).

20 Bistonidum ... **crinis:** for *Bistonis* = 'Thracian woman' in Latin see Lyne on *Ciris* 165; it is a Grecism derived from Hellenistic usage (Phanocles fr. 1.7 Powell). Allusions to the key Bacchic location of Thrace are found in the last line of two successive stanzas here (cf. 16 *Thracis*). **sine fraude** 'without damage', an originally legal expression

(cf. *TLL* VI.1.1267.50 62) used again at *CS* 41 (see Thomas's note there) and broadly in poetry (*OLD* s.v. *fraus*, 1a). Immunity from harm belongs to both god and devotee; there is also perhaps an implicit contrast with the deadly hair snakes of the Furies which can be used as weapons (Virg. *A.* 7.346 53, Ov. *Met.* 4.495 507).

21 4 Switching into the past tense to focus on a specific sequence of events, this stanza recounts Bacchus' fighting with the gods against the Giants in the Gigantomachy, well documented in Greek literary and artistic sources (e.g. Eur. *Ion* 216 18 and the Pergamon Altar, *LIMC* II s.v. Dionysos 76); for a convenient summary of this mythic battle see Apoll. *Bibl.* 1.6.2. As suggested above and argued in detail by Stevens 1999 (see introduction), H.'s representation of Bacchus' role in the Gigantomachy as defending his father's realm suggests an allegorical analogy with the role of the future Augustus in the civil wars after 44 BCE as described by the Augustan poets, defending the heritage of Julius Caesar against similarly monstrous opposition which evokes Gigantomachic comparison (*Epod.* 9, Virg. *A.* 8.675 713 with Hardie 1986: 97 109, Prop. 4.6). As already noted, *Odes* 3.4.42 80 will in the next book present what seems to be an allegorical reading of the Gigantomachy as a reflection of Augustan victory in civil war (cf. Lowrie 1997: 238 42).

21 parentis regna: heaven, the personal domain of Jupiter (Hom. *Il.* 15.192), father of Bacchus (cf. e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 524) and also now the home of Augustus' adoptive father Julius Caesar as Diuus Iulius. **per arduum:** the adjective (here substantivised) expresses both height and difficulty (*OLD* s.v. 1, 5); for the adverbial use of this phrase cf. Sen. *Dial.* 1.1.6 *per arduum escendere.*

22 cohors Gigantum . . . **impia:** the originally technical military unit *cohors* (a tenth part of a legion) can be freely used of larger non Roman forces or groups in poetry (*OLD* s.v. 2, 6), but its Roman colour and the implication of civil war in *impia* (cf. 3.24.25 6 *impias* | *caedis et rabiem . . . ciuicam*) fit with a symbolic allusion to Actium here (see above) as well as with the Giants' immoral attack on their Olympian superiors. **scanderet:** at 3.4.49 52 the Giants are again imagined as ascending to Olympus (there by using Mt Ossa).

23 Rhoetum retorsisti: this giant (again at 3.4.55) is here chosen (per haps for alliterative reasons) to represent the whole group (for a list of the giants (not in fact including this name) see Apoll. *Bibl.* 1.6.2, where Dionysus is said to have slain a different giant, Eurytus); he may be identical with the Runcus described by Naevius in a Gigantomachic ekphrasis (fr. 19.3 Morel). *retorqueo* usually implies throwing a person or missile back where they came from (here to their mother earth/Earth: cf.

3.4.73 *iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis*). Rhoetus is seen as an allegory for the defeated Antony by Koster 1994b: 64.

23 4 leonis | unguibus horribilisque mala: the transmitted *horribilique* implies that both ablatives go with *retorsisti*, which seems unlikely sense wise ('wrestled back Rhoetus with your lion's claws and fearsome jaw)'; Bochart's *horribilisque* with causal ablative, 'fearsome for its jaw' (otherwise unparalleled, but matching the common construction of *horrendus* cf. esp. Ov. *Met.* 7.151 *uncis dentibus horrendus*) neatly balances 30 *cornu decorum* in sense and expression, and seems to have been read by Ps. Acro (who glosses *maxilla metuendus*). The resulting displaced *que* (which should link *unguibus* and *mala*) is unproblematic, being found again in line 28 and 32; see 27 8 n. Some interpreters have debated whether a literal metamorphosis is meant here and have suggested that we should imagine a lion fighting on behalf of the god who stays out of the action personally (Pöschl 1973: 219), but Bacchus' active involvement in the Gigantomachy is well attested (see on 21 4 above), and his capacity to change into a lion in attack is found at *Hom. Hym.* 7.44 and Eur. *Ba.* 1018; this quasi magical transformation fits the stress on the god's metamorphic powers in this poem (9 16). The singular *mala* is unusual for 'jaws', and perhaps imitates a similar singular use of Greek γένυς (Pind. *Ol.* 13.85 ἀμφὶ γένυι, of the mouth of Pegasus).

25 7 quamquam ... **ferebaris** '[you fought the Giants] although, being described as more suited to dancing, joking and playing, you were said to be unfit for battle'. The peaceful and pleasure loving representation of Bacchus, which predominates in Roman art and literature (*ferebaris* refers to this general tradition; cf. e.g. Ovid *Met.* 3.553 6, Bruhl 1953), is a fundamental contrast with his ferocity in fighting as just illustrated. **choreis aptior et iocis | ludoque dictus:** recalls Tib. 1.7.43 4 (see introduction above) and picks up Bacchus' links with dancing and laughter at Eur. *Ba.* 379 80 θιασεύειν τε χοροῖς | μετά τ' αὐλοῦ γελάσαι, 'to celebrate with dancing and to laugh with the pipe' (cf. also 4.15.26 *iocosi munera Liberi*). The elevated Grecism *chorea* (found in H. only in the *Odes*, 3x and in Virgil only in the *Aeneid*, 3x) picks up χορεία, 'dance' (e.g. Eur. *Phoen.* 1265), while *ludus* suggests erotic play (*OLD* s.v. 1d). **idoneus | pugnae** 'fit for battle'. The adjective implies readiness for military action (N R on 3.26.1).

27 8 sed idem | pacis eras mediusque belli 'but you were similarly effective in the middle of peace as of war', i.e. a god equally fit for both; for *idem* expressing the combination of opposite qualities in a single figure cf. 2.10.16 n., for the genitive with *medius* cf. Silius 8.656 *inter medios belli* (the phrase is something of a zeugma, with *medius pacis* producing an

unparalled expression), and for the displacement of *que* (which should link the co ordinated *pacis* and *belli*) see N H here, who note that it occurs in the last line of each of the last three stanzas. For Bacchus as both gentle and fearsome see Eur. *Ba.* 860 1 ὡς πέφυκεν ἐν μέρει θεὸς | δεινότατος, ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἠπιώτατος, 'that the god (Dionysus) is by nature in turn most terrible and also most gentle to mortals' (the perfect πέφυκεν like the imperfect *eras* stresses that these are habitual traits). In his fitness for peace and war Bacchus resembles the poet himself: cf. *Ep.* 1.20.23 *me primis urbis belli placuisse domique*; see introduction (above).

29 32 The last stanza appropriately deals with a climactic achievement of Bacchus, his katabasis or descent to the underworld; cf. the similar positioning of Mercury's role as escorter of the dead to Hades in the final stanzas of 1.10 (17 20), and especially 2.18.37 40 (the end of the previous poem). Bacchus' katabasis (usually said to be undertaken to rescue his mother Semele) is familiar in Greek culture (Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.5.3, Diod. Sic. 4.25.4, Paus. 2.37.5, Iophon *TrGF* 22 F 3) and is famously parodied in Aristophanes' *Frogs*; it may have been a topic in a lost epic poem on Bacchus, though no underworld episode is included in Nonnus' massive late antique epic *Dionysiaca.* As an act of *pietas* towards his mother the katabasis is an appropriate climax to this Roman poem; both katabasis and the depiction of Cerberus recall the recent *Georgics* 4 (31 2 n.), something of a theme in Book 2 (see Introduction, section 4). The episode provides a vivid closural vignette for this technique see 2.5.21 4 n.

29 te uidit: picks up the poet's sighting of Bacchus in the first stanza (2 *uidi*) with that of Cerberus' sighting of the same god, a clear element of ring composition. **insons** 'without inflicting harm', picking up the similarly miraculous *sine fraude* (20); this unusual poetic use of the adjec tive (normally 'blameless'), first found in H. (*OLD* s.v. 2), follows the same dual meaning of *innoxius* (*OLD* s.v. 3, 4) by analogy, perhaps matching the ambiguity of the Greek poetic ἀβλαβής (LSJ s.v. I, II). **Cerberus:** the vignette of Bacchus taming Cerberus echoes Virgil's recently published katabasis of Orpheus, whose music similarly enchants the dog (*G.*4.483 *tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora*).

29 30 aureo | cornu decorum 'beautiful with your golden horn', match ing 24 *horribilisque mala* in phrasing (24 n.); for Bacchus' traditional beauty see 1.18.11 *candide Bassareu* with N H's note. Bacchus can be depicted as bull horned in literature and art (Eur. *Ba.* 101, Gibson on Ov. *Ars* 3.348, *LIMC* II s.v. *Bacchus* 55, 58a); the horn is gold as befits an immortal god (Williams on Call. *H.* 2.32). The phrase *aureo | cornu* is influenced by the Greek poetic compound χρυσόκερως (used by Euripides and Pindar and found in a long list of epithets for Dionysus at

AP 9.524.23); Ov. *Ars* 3.348 *insignis cornu Bacche* similarly reflects Greek εὔκερως (Soph. *Aj.* 64).

30 1 leniter atterens | cauda 'gently rubbing against you with his tail'. This is a traditional sign of welcome from Cerberus in reaction to specially favoured visitors (cf. 2.13.33 5 n.): cf. Hes. *Theog.* 770 1 ἐς μὲν ἰόντας | σαίνει ὁμῶς οὐρῇ τε καὶ οὔασιν ἀμφοτέροισιν, 'upon those going in he fawns alike with his tail and with both ears' (tr. Most), Soph. fr.687 Radt (Theseus) ἔσαινεν οὐρᾷ μ' ὦτα κυλλαίνων κάτω, 'he fawned on me with his tail, with his ears back' (tr. Lloyd Jones). *leniter* picks up 15 *non leni* (Cerberus recog nises Bacchus' potentially destructive powers (cf. 21 8) and responds submissively). The lowly word *cauda* is found here for the only time in the *Odes* (7x in H. overall), the similarly lowly *attero* for the only time in H. (its overtone of friction sets up an oxymoron with *leniter*, 'smoothly, gently'). The transmitted *caudam* gives a highly problematic image: Cerberus seems either to be rubbing against the tail of the taurine Bacchus or rubbing against his own tail, neither of which makes much sense. *te* in 29 can be understood as the direct object of *atterens*, especially given its emphatic initial position, and what we need here is an instru mental ablative, found with this verb at Virg. *G.* 1.46 *sulco attritus . . . vomer*, echoing the instrumental dative of the tail in the Greek models already cited above (Hesiod *Theog.* 771 οὐρῇ, Soph. fr. 687 Radt οὐρᾷ); this would then parallel the construction of *ore . . . tetigit* in 32. I read *cauda*: the corruption would be especially easy given the elision of the relevant syllable before *et* here. The elision of long *a* before *et* is not found else where in the *Odes*, but is Horatian in iambic and dactylic metres (cf. *Epod.* 3.22, *S.* 1.6.64, 2.3.244); long *o* is often so elided in the *Odes* (16x, cf. e.g. 2.1.25), long *i* less frequently (4x). The passage and construction may be recalled at Sen. *HF* 812 *utrumque cauda pulsat . . . latus*, where Cerberus beats his own sides wagging his tail in greeting a similarly descending Hercules. Stevens 1999 suggests that H.'s fawning Cerberus represents symbolically the subjugation of Cleopatra's Egypt given the prominent role of the theriomorphic dog god Anubis in the propaganda surrounding the battle of Actium (cf. Prop. 3.11.41 *latrantem . . . Anubim*, Virg. *A.* 8.698 *latrator Anubis*; see also Koster 1994b: 67 8).

31 2 et recedentis . . . | . . . pedes tetigitque crura 'and touched your feet and calves as you withdrew': the participle is better interpreted as genitive. The phrase reverses Hesiod's observation that Cerberus fawns on visitors when he lets them in but does not release them to depart (Hesiod *Theog.* 771 2), again showing Bacchus' power to overcome traditional restric tions. *que* is transposed again (it should link *pedes* and *crura*): cf. 28 n. **trilingui | ore:** the fearsome triple mouth of the hound of hell is here turned to licking the feet and calves which Cerberus might otherwise bite,

hence the emphasis on the tongue here; this compound adjective is used of Cerberus again only at 3.11.20 *ore trilingui*. The dog's self restraint picks up the katabasis of Orpheus at Virg. *G.* 4.483 *tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora* and stresses the power of Bacchus.

20 SUMMARY

I, the poet, will change into an unusual bird and soar into the sky; I, your humble friend, my dear Maecenas, will escape death (1 8). My metamor phosis begins; I am now turning into a white bird (9 12). I will visit remote parts of the world, travelling over the Roman dominions and their trouble spots (13 20). Do not mourn for me or give me the pointless honours of a funeral (21 4).

Metre

Alcaic (see Introduction, section 7).

This celebrated poem is addressed to Maecenas like 2.12 and 2.17; H.'s patron receives the honour of the last poem along with the first poem of Book 1 and the penultimate substantive poem of the collection of Books 1 3 (3.29) before its brief epilogue (3.30); there is some indication of dating after 27 BCE in lines 17 20 (see commentary). The poem concludes the book with the theme of metamorphosis: though the 'white bird' into which the poet envisages himself changing is never named in the poem (1 2 n.), it is surely a swan (9 10 n.). This surreal element matches the surrealism and interest in miraculous metamorphosis in 2.19, which thus prepares for this poem as well as for the next book and the Roman Odes (see 2.19, introduction). The poem takes its place in the tradition of the so called *sphragis* (seal poem), where the final poem or section in a collec tion or narrative turns to the figure of the poet himself and his future fame, and looks forward to 3.30 where we again find a focus on the poet's achievement and immortality in the last poem of the three book collection.

Why a swan? The swan's famous capacity in song made it a natural comparison for poets (see Thompson 1936: 180 3, Arnott 2007: 122 4); amongst recent Roman poets the image had been used of himself by Lucretius (4.181 2) and of other poets by Virgil (*E.* 9.36), while H. himself describes Pindar as a high flying swan at 4.2.25 *multa Dircaeum leuat aura cycnum*. It is also relevant that the swan was often compared to an old man because of its white plumage (mirroring white hair) and was thought to sing as it died (Bond on Eur. *HF.* 110): like Posidippus (see below), the poet is thinking ahead to his death in the future and of himself as older

than the early forties he has currently reached. Significant here is Plato's famous characterisation (*Phaedo* 84e 5a) of the swan's dying song as an act of prophecy, looking forward to an eternal life of felicity: this poem is itself essentially a prophecy (cf. 3 *uates*) in the mouth of a putative swan, expressed in a series of verbs in the future tense (1 *ferar*, 3 *morabor*, 5 *relinquam*, 8 *cohibebor*, 14 *uisam*, 19 *noscent*, 20 *discet*). H.'s change into a swan may also express his devotion to Maecenas, clear in this poem (7 *dilecte Maecenas*); the metamorphosis into a similar singing swan of one mythological Cycnus came about through affectionate mourning for his beloved friend Phaethon (Virg. *A*. 10.189 93), though Maecenas is clearly envisaged as surviving H. here (21 4).

The idea that poets 'fly high' in their inspired verse (cf. 1.6.2, 4.2.25) goes back to the bird images used of himself and other poets by Pindar (Bowra 1964: 9 11, 22 3); Plato's Socrates also refers to the poet as a 'winged creature' (*Ion* 534b), though there the reference is to a bee rather than a bird, and Callimachus compares himself to a winged cicada (*Aetia* fr.1.32 Pf.). This idea of the winged poet is conjoined in this poem with the equally long established idea that the poet's words send the fame of those he celebrates flying into the heavens: in what appears (like this poem) to be an epilogue to part of his works, Theognis famously claims that his poems have given his addressee Cyrnus wings (237 9) by which he will fly through Greece and the islands (247 8), and have eternal fame beyond his mortal life (245 6). Though H.'s metamorphosis is imagined as dis tinctly corporeal, the idea of the flight of the soul on departure from the body is relevant (Max. Tyr. 10.2), especially as the soul can be described as a swan (Jacobson 1995), along with the disembodied 'flight of the mind' assigned to Epicurus and other philosophers (Lucr. 1.74, N H on 1.28.5). The imagined celestial flight of the poet in this poem also picks up that of 1.1.36 *sublimi feriam sidera uertice*.

In terms of literary models, one key text is the well known *sphragis* of the Hellenistic epigrammatist Posidippus (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* 705 = Poseidippus fr.118 Austin Bastianini). There in a poem of similar length (28 lines) the poet prays to the Muses and Apollo for help to bear the coming burden of old age and to broadcast his poetic fame both locally and internationally, and for a good death without lamentation after a pleasant old age. H.'s poem clearly shares the elements of wider poetic fame (13 n.) and the exhortation not to mourn (21 2 n.); Posidippus' poem may also have matched H.'s in occupying a significant concluding position within his works (Gutzwiller 2005: 317 19). H. is also echoing the reported self epitaph of Ennius (*var*. 17 18 Vahlen; cf. esp. Thévenaz 2002): *Nemo me lacrumis decoret, nec funera fletu | faxit. cur? uolito uiuus per ora uirum.* As in H., the epitaph links flying in fame and immortality with the removal of any need for conventional mourning; we might see the

conceit of the swan metamorphosis as an unpacking of the Ennian verb *uolito*. Erasmo 2006 (following Quinn) has convincingly argued that H. also alludes to a further bird metamorphosis in Ennius, the poet's cele brated claim in the proem to the *Annales* that he was metamorphosed into a peacock as part of a series of reincarnations (*Ann.* 11 Sk.); H. would then be wittily varying the type of bird, replacing the multi coloured peacock with the monochrome swan, and transposing an initial element in a literary work to a final position. Ennius' self epitaph had also been echoed recently by Virgil in the metapoetic preface to *Georgics* 3 (8 9 *temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim | tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*), and H. may be bringing out more fully the image of a bird leaving the earth implicit in Virgil's language as in that of Ennius (see e.g. Putnam 1979: 166). Another literary tradition operating here is that of metamorphosis poetry. As can be seen from e.g. Virgil's *Eclogue* 6, Hellenistic poetry showed a particular fascination for this topic (Forbes Irving 1990: 19 24), and bird metamorphoses were prominent there, collected e.g. in the hexameter *Ornithogonia* of Boios (Forbes Irving 1990: 33 6), which is likely to have served as one of the sources for the many bird metamor phoses in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Structurally, the poem can be divided into three parts. The first two stanzas are linked by two matching pairs of future verbs (*ferar* . . . *neque* . . . *morabor, obibo* | *nec* . . . *cohibebor*), while the next three stanzas (the first two being linked by initial *iam* in 9 and 13) pair the metamorphosis itself in the third stanza (imagined as happening in the present) with a geographical tour of the world which follows in the fourth and fifth stanzas, and the final stanza rounds off with the injunction not to mourn.

The key interpretative issue of the poem is the apparent mismatch of its grand sentiments and ambitions for fame and immortality with the comic grotesque description of the swan metamorphosis in lines 9 12. But it can be argued that in every case in the *Odes* where H. makes grand claims for himself and his poetry, those claims are offset and undermined by ele ments of humour and self deprecation: this can be seen in 1.1 and 3.30 as well as 2.20 (Harrison 2007c), and H. ironises his lyric pretensions in *Ep.*1.20 (Harrison 1988). In this poem, it is notable that H. neither names the 'white bird' of his metamorphosis as a swan (1 2 n., 10 n.), nor gives his own name and birthplace or residence as the *sphragis* tradition usually demanded (cf. Theogn. 22 3, Posid. fr. 118.5,17, and the recent Virg. *G.* 4.563 6): H. is generally reluctant to name himself (he uses *Horatius* twice only in his corpus (4.6.44 and *Ep.* 1.14.5), *Quintus* only at S. 2.6.37, *Flaccus* only at *Epod.* 15.12 and *S.* 2.1.18). The poem has many other humorous touches (see West's introduction and Connor 1987: 2 7); for example, the arduous international journey of the swan presents an entertaining contrast with the travel weary poet of 2.6 who seeks an Italian retirement.

This ambivalence of tone is reflected in its style, which combines high poetic elements from Ennius and Lucretius (2 n., 3 n., 5 6 n.) with more prosaic terms (9 10 n., 22 n.).

The poem has signs of its final position in its book, befitting the tradition of the *sphragis* (see above); 2 *biformis* might allude to the second book of *Odes* (1 2 n.), while 21 *neniae* (see n.) recalls 2.1.38 *neniae*, a ring compositional element within the book's structure. The ambition of air borne immortality in 2.20 also picks up similar elements in 1.1, where the poet ends with the image of striking the stars with his head as a symbol of fame (1.1.36 *sublimi feriam sidera uertice*), a larger element of ring composi tion. Finally, there are links with the final poem of the collection of Books 1 3, 3.30, in which the same passage of Simonides is alluded to (21 4 n.) and similar claims to immortality (6 8 n.) and references to humble antecedents are made (5 6 n.), though the geographical spread of H.'s fame in that poem is decidedly local, a deliberate contrast to the global perspective of 2.20, with its evocations of the pioneer worldwide voyages of Odysseus and the Argonauts (5 n., 17 20 n.). H.'s lyric book here shows an epic scale.

Select bibliography

Schwinge 1965; Kidd 1971; Connor 1987: 2 7; Jacobson 1995; Lowrie 1997: 210 14; Sutherland 2002: 141 51; Thévenaz 2002; Erasmo 2006; Pianezzola 2013.

1 2 Non usitata nec tenui . . . | **penna:** for the ablative and collective singular cf. 3.2.24 (*Virtus*) *spernit humum fugiente penna.* The adjectives here play with the Callimachean aesthetic of the refined and non banal; *non usitata* suggests a bird literally unusual in lyric poetry (i.e. not the Pindaric eagle: see introduction), but also metaphorically echoes Callimachus' programmatic rejection of the commonplace in poetry (cf. Call. *Ep.* 28.4 Pf. σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια, 'I loathe everything that is publicly available'), while *tenuis*, 'thin', not only reflects the physical slen derness of a wing but is also a common term for fine poetic texture match ing Callimachus' λεπταλέος (see N H on 1.6.9). Here H. seems to promise Callimachean originality but in a lyric genre of greater weight than the elegiac verse which Callimachus represented to him (*Ep.* 2.2.91,100). **ferar:** as Stephen Heyworth points out to me, the verb applies equally well to bird, and book, and poet, encompassing flight (cf. Manilius 5.488), transport of the volume (cf. *Ep.*1.13.13 *portes*) and future verbal voicing in recitation (cf. 3.30.10 *dicar*). **biformis:** i.e. a combination of man and bird; the epithet is used again of the semi human Minotaur at Virg. *A.* 6.25 (for a possible further allusion to this passage cf. 13 n.) and follows the similar Greek

poetic use of δίμορφος (see Hornblower on Lycophron *Al.* 892). It is tempt ing to see an allusion to the completion of the second book of *Odes* which indeed makes the poet 'double in form'; Woodman 2002: 60 also neatly suggests that *biformis* alludes to the joint Greek models for the *Odes* in Sappho and Alcaeus (a feature already stressed in this book in 2.13; see introduction to that poem). **per liquidum aethera:** grand Ennian language; cf. *Ann.* 545 Sk. *per aethera, Sat.* 4 V. *liquidas . . . aetheris oras.*

3 uates: here both 'poet' and 'prophet' (cf. 2.6.24); the poet as seer foretells his own future. **in terris:** the phrase is much employed by Lucretius (14x in *DRN*, against 5x for *in terra*); the plural here perhaps anticipates the multiple territories suggested in 13 20.

4 inuidiaque maior 'superior to envy' (for this use of *maior* see *OLD* s.v. 6b); H. echoes Callimachus' self description in the latter's epitaph for his father (*Ep.* 21.4 Pf. κρέσσονα βασκανίης, in exactly the same sense). Envy of the talented poet by the untalented is a strong Callimachean theme (see also Call. *H.* 2.107) which goes back to Hesiod (*W&D* 26); H. is keen elsewhere to stress the envy felt towards him by others at Rome; see F C on 4.3.12 16 and N H here.

5 urbis relinquam: one might perhaps expect *urbem* of Rome alone, especially in a poem addressed to Maecenas, for whom *urbs* = 'Rome' at 3.8.17; in the plural the phrase inverts the city seeking voyage of Odysseus (*Od.* 1.3 4 πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, 'he saw many cities of men and got to know their mind').

5 6 non ego . . . **non ego:** rhetorical anaphora, again with the same phrase in H.'s emphatic self descriptions at *S.* 1.6.58 9 and *Ep.* 1.19.37 9. **pauperum | sanguis parentum** 'blood of poor parents'. For this poetic use of 'blood' of an individual descendant cf. Ennius *Ann.* 108 Sk. *o sanguen dis oriundum* (of Romulus), *OLD* s.v. *sanguis* 10. The grand style contrasts with the content of H.'s humble origins, which he stresses in other final *sphragis* type poems (3.30.12, *Ep.* 1.20.20 1); for H.'s origins and his freedman father see Williams 1995. **quem uocas** 'whom you summon', as a social superior requiring the attendance of an inferior (for parallels see N R on 3.6.30). H. is stressing his humble and dependent social status (whenever Maecenas calls him, he comes).

7 dilecte Maecenas 'beloved Maecenas'; critics have sometimes argued that 'dilecte' ought to be in speech marks and suggest Maecenas' affec tionate address of Horace ('whom you call "beloved"'; see Trappes Lomax 2002: 583), but though Maecenas could clearly use such intimate address to H. in his own verse (fr. 2 Courtney), such syntax is unparalleled in Latin, and adjective and noun should be taken together as at 1.20.5 *care Maecenas*

eques, Epod. 3.20 *iocose Maecenas,* 9.4 *beate Maecenas,* and 14.5 *candide Maecenas.* **obibo** 'die' (*OLD* s.v. 8), prosaic and rare in the *Odes* cf. 2.17.3 n.

8 Stygia . . . unda: again high poetic language, especially with the collective singular *unda* ('waters'); cf. Virg. *A.* 6.385 *Stygia prospexit ab unda.* The traditional etymology of *Stygius* (from Greek στυγέω, 'hate'; Maltby 1991: 588) here presents a witty contrast with 'beloved' (*dilecte*). **cohibebor:** of containment in death again at 1.28.2 (see N H's note).

9 12 The physical description of the bird metamorphosis is contained in a single stanza, beginning from the legs and moving upwards.

9 iam iam: vividly envisages events as imagined in progress ('even now'); cf. *Epod.*17.1 *iam iam . . . do manus, OLD* s.v. *iam* 5.

9 10 residunt cruribus asperae | pelles 'skin patches are shrinking to roughness on my legs'; though *crus* can occasionally be used of birds' legs (e.g. Virg. *G.* 3.76) and *pellis* of unattractive human skin (*OLD* s.v. 1b), the juxtaposition of predominantly animal and human terms here as at 11 12 marks the liminal moment of metamorphosis. The plural *pelles* suggests one area of skin for each leg, becoming bird like through reducing in size (*resido*: *OLD* s.v. 3c) and roughening to the touch in contrast with human skin (*asper,* used proleptically here). **album mutor in alitem:** for the construc tion (*in* + accusative) cf. *OLD* s.v. *muto* 12a. It is striking that H. does not indicate which 'white bird' is meant, though the evidence of the poem as a whole clearly suggests a singing swan (see introduction above). Elsewhere 'white bird' can indicate the doves of Venus (Ov. *Met.* 10.719 20 *albas | flexit aues*), not inappropriate here for an erotic poet, or a metaphorical 'rare bird' (Cic. *Fam.* 7.28.2); the latter sense at least coheres with 1 2 *non usitata . . . | . . . penna.* The white colour of the bird's plumage reflects the poet's imagined ageing hair (see introduction). For the poetic 'kenning' *ales* ('winged one') as a noun ('bird'), a Lucretian usage (6.818, 821) found again in line 16, cf. *OLD* s.v. *ales*², Harrison on Virg. *A.* 10.177.

11 superne 'on the top, up above', i.e. in contrast with scaly legs; the last syllable of this adverb was always short, as in *pone* (see Leo 1898). Here it goes with *nascuntur* (*que* is postponed), 'and up above feathers grow on my fingers and shoulders'.

11 12 nascunturue leues | per digitos umerosque plumae: as in 9 10, human and animal terms are pointedly juxtaposed at the imagined moment of metamorphosis, which begins at the poet's extremities (fingers and shoulders will also form either end of the new wings); *nascor,* 'grow', is common for body parts (*OLD* s.v. 2a), while *leues* forms a neat contrast with *aspera* (the metamorphosis brings the rough with the smooth), and the

postponement of *plumae* to the end of the sentence and stanza presents a dramatic surprise.

13 20 The catalogue of places envisaged as visited by H. as the swan combines appropriately metamorphic references (Icarus, Io) with allu sions to the Argonaut saga (Colchis, the Rhone) and to recent and poten tial Roman military operations (Dacia, Spain, Geloni). Geographically the spread is impressive, from modern Turkey to north Africa, Central Asia, the Caucasus, Spain and France, covering the known Roman world to its limits in every direction (N, S, E and W). The journey is similar to that envisaged for H. at 3.4.29 36, which similarly includes the Bosphorus and Geloni (as well as Britain and Syria).

13 Daedaleo notior Icaro: interpreters worry about *notior* (for suggestions see the Oslo database), since the comparative might naturally mean 'more notorious' and the doomed Icarus is not an example of successful flight (cf. 4.2.2 3); but *notior* can mean 'more famous (than)' (cf. Prop. 2.13.8 (again of poetic fame) *tunc ego sim Inachio notior arte Lino*), and *notus* as often can refer to fame in poetry. H. will be more celebrated in verse (his own) than Icarus (the subject of literary treatments before H. (cf. Hollis 1970: 58) and highlighted in the *Aeneid* (6.30 3), in a passage perhaps already known to H.; see 1 2 *biformis* n.). This metapoetical aspect fits with the proper adjective *Daedaleo* (cf. 4.2.2 *ope Daedalea*), first used in H., which points to Icarus' father the great artist Daedalus, parallel to the poet.

14 uisam 'go to visit', as at 3.4.33 *uisam Britannos hospitibus feros.* **gementis litora Bosphori:** *gementis*, which can be used for the lowing of cattle (Ov. *Met.* 1.124) as well as the roar of the sea (Luc. 5.218; the Bosphorus was notoriously choppy and stormy cf. 2.13.13 14 n.), plays on the etymol ogy of *Bosphori* from Greek βοῦς, 'ox' (Maltby 1991: 83 4) and on its connection with Io, the princess transformed into a cow who crossed it (the narrow passage at the SW entrance to the Black Sea) in bovine form, the event which supposedly gave it its name ([Aesch.] *PV* 732 4, Moschus, *Europa* 44 9).

15 Syrtisque Gaetulas: sandbanks off the N. African coast, notoriously dangerous for shipping and a southern limit of the Mediterranean world (2.6.3 4 n). As Stephen Heyworth points out to me, the phrase is drawn from (or conceivably imitated by) Virg. *A.* 5.51 *Gaetulis* ... *Syrtibus,* 192 *Gaetulis Syrtibus.*

15 16 canorus | ales: for the singing swan cf. introduction above and Prop. 2.34.83 4 *canorus* ... | ... *olor* (in a metapoetic context, but a possible interpolation (see Heyworth 2007: 278); the passage is compared

to H. by Pianezzola 2013), Virg. *G.* 2.328 *auibus* . . . *canoris*; its harmonious sound contrasts with the formless roar of *gementis*. Nominalised *ales* picks up the similar *alitem* (10). **Hyperboreosque campos:** the steppes of central Asia (cf. 1.22.17 with N H); the adjective is first found in Latin in Virgil's recently published *Georgics* (3.196, 3.381, 4.517, the last of a journey of the poet Orpheus), following its original use in Herodotus' discussion of the Hyperboreans (4.32 6).

17 me: the first person pronoun is emphatically placed at the beginning of the stanza, a long way from its governing verb (19 *noscent*); cf. 1.28.21, 2.12.13, 2.17.13, 3.4.9, 3.9.9, 3.11.45, 4.1.29. **Colchus:** Colchis in the Caucasus could be seen as the eastern limit of the known world (cf. Prop. 3.22.11 with Fedeli's note); the adjective *Colchus* is first found in H. (cf. 2.13.8), following Herodotus' Κόλχος (4.45). In this context of an exceptional journey the reader naturally also thinks of the voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis, the topic of an epic poem by Varro of Atax in the 30s BCE (cf. Hollis 2007: 197) for another possible Argonautic allusion see 19 20 n.

17 18 qui dissimulat metum | . . . Dacus: for fear of Rome by its enemies in propagandistic contexts cf. 2.9.21 4, 2.13.18 19, 3.2.4, *CS* 53 4, *S.* 2.5.62, *Ep.* 2.1.256. There is perhaps a suggestion that the Dacians were not easy opponents for Rome, which seems to have been the case given the repeated campaigns against them in the 20s BCE (N H I.xxxiii iv); the poem might post date Crassus' victories over the Thracian Bastarnae in this region in 29 8 BCE (Dio 51.23 7). **Marsae cohortis:** for *cohors* in a non technical sense cf. 2.19.22 n. An etymological connec tion with Mars is here implied for the fearsome and warlike Marsi, the type of early Italian toughness (cf. N H on 1.2.39), as at Virg. *G.* 2.167 *genus acre uirum, Marsos.*

18 19 ultimi | noscent Geloni: the potentially dangerous Geloni will be tamed enough to be acquainted with H.'s poetry (see on 20 *discet*). For the Geloni (Scythians on the Roman border in modern Ukraine), topical after 29 BCE, see 2.9.23 4 n., and for *ultimus* of peoples at the 'ends of the earth' cf. 1.35.29 30 *ultimos | orbis Britannos* with N H's note. As with the Spaniards below, the idea that they will learn H.'s works is incongruous, but the serious implication is that this will be part of their eventual Romanisation.

19 me: in emphatic clause initial position, an emphasis increased by the anaphora of *me* in the same position at 17 (the pairing balances that of *ego* . . . *ego* in 5 6).

19 20 peritus . . . **Hiber:** *peritus* implies deep study, just as *discet* advances on *noscent*, humorous exaggeration for a notionally 'barbarian'

people. For *Hiber* = *Hiberus* ('Spanish') cf. Catull. 9.6; the allusion to Spain here is again topical, looking to the Cantabrians, constant Roman opponents in the 20s BCE (2.6, introduction), perhaps indicating a date after their defeat by Augustus in 26 5. **discet:** the verb suggests school type memorisation of H.'s work (cf. Bonner 1977: 212 16) and recalls the same usage at 2.19.3 (reinforcing the Bacchus/Horace parallel in that poem: see 2.19, introduction). **Rhodanique potor:** *potor* occurs first in Horace, imitating Greek πότης (Call. *Iamb.* fr. 191.43 Pf.). For foreign peoples described by the rivers they 'drink' (i.e. live near) cf. 3.10.1 *extremum Tanain si biberes* with N R's note; this mode of presentation suggests conquest, since these rivers were often depicted in triumphal processions (2.9.21 n.), and this allusion to the Rhone indeed fits an allusion to the Aquitanian campaign of Messalla for which he was awarded a triumph in 27 BCE, celebrated by Tibullus, who claims that the Rhone witnessed Messalla's deeds (cf. 1.7.11 *testis Arar Rhodanusque*); modern France (along with Spain above) marks the western extent of Roman dominion. The mention of the Rhone may also recall its role as part of the return route of the Argonauts as narrated by Apollonius (4.627) and perhaps recently by Varro of Atax (see 17 *Colchus* n.).

21 4 The last stanza provides a coda to the poem and to the book (see introduction). The mourning deprecated by the poet is emphasised by the use of no fewer than four nouns (*neniae, luctus, querimoniae, clamorem*), and three of its four lines begin with instructions, the last two in matching imperatives (*compesce, mitte*), and it ends with the significant *honores* (see n.). In the lack of lament and claim of immortality here, H. modifies a famous military epitaph, Simonides' lyric lament for the 300 Spartans at Thermopylae (fr. 531 1 3 *PMG*), also adapted in 3.30 (see Harrison 2001: 263 4): τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων | εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος, | βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος, 'for those who died at Thermopylae, fortunate is their fate, happy is their destiny; their tomb is an altar, and instead of lamentation they have remembrance, and grief for them is praise'. He also picks up a fragment of Sappho (150 V.), which claims that lamentation is not fitting in the house of those that serve the Muses, i.e. poets (οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισοπόλων †οἰκίαι | θρῆνον ἔμμεν).

21 absint inani funere neniae 'let dirges be absent from my empty funeral'. *neniae* picks up this same rare word (only five times in H.) at 2.1.38, again in the poem's last stanza, an element of ring composition in the book as a whole (see introduction); *neniae* are the traditional songs sung by hired women (*praeficae*) at funerals (*AP* 431 3, Varro *LL* 7.70; for an account see Dutsch 2008). The usual funeral ceremony is 'empty' because the poet is immortal; his swan/immortal soul has departed (cf. Jacobson 1995). The injunction against mourning in these circumstances goes back to Posidippus and Ennius (see introduction above).

22 luctusque turpes et querimoniae: the insistence on the pointlessness of lamentation owes much to Epicurean ideas, memorably expressed in the great diatribe against the fear of death in the third book of Lucretius' *DRN* (830 1094): if death is sleep and rest, why lament death so strongly (cf. Lucr. 3.909 11)? *luctus* (poetic, especially in the plural: cf. Catull. 64.226, Virg. *A.* 3.713, 10.755) picks up Lucr. 3.911 *luctu*, while *querimo niae* (archaic/colloquial: see Brink on *AP* 75) echoes 3.955 *compesce quer elas* (picked up again in *compesce clamorem*, below). *turpes* suggests both moral condemnation (*OLD* s.v. 3) and physical ugliness (*OLD* s.v. 2), the latter alluding to the deliberate self disarray of the Roman mourner in rending the hair etc. (see Keulen on Sen. *Tro.* 84, Hope 2009: 203).

23 compesce clamorem: echoes Lucretius' *compesce querelas* (above); *cla morem* effectively classes as crude the sound element in *neniae, luctus* and *querimoniae*, but also alludes to the pre funeral *conclamatio* in which the dead person's closest intimate (here Maecenas) would call out his/her name to make sure of death (see Fedeli on Prop. 2.13.27 30, Toynbee 1971: 44), an act of course particularly futile here for the immortal poet.

23 4 sepulchri | . . . honores: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 9.14 *honorem sepulturae, Sen.* 75 *honore sepulturae*, Virg. *A.* 10.493 *honos tumuli* with Harrison's note. The honour H. seeks is not that of burial but that of poetic immortality (cf. *AP* 400 1 *sic honor et nomen diuinis uatibus atque | carminibus uenit*). H.'s Epicurean lack of concern for a tomb (cf. Lucr. 3.870 93) matches that of his addressee Maecenas according to a hexameter line ascribed to the latter by Seneca (*Ep.* 92.35 = fr. 8 Courtney): *nec tumulum curo; sepelit natura relictos.* **mitte** 'drop, abandon'; cf. 3.8.17 *mitte ciuilis super urbe curas, Ep.*1.5.8 *mitte leuis spes, OLD* s.v. 4. For the imperative in the closures of H.'s odes (here double with *compesce*) see on 2.9.17. **superuacuos:** a term first found in H. for the prosaic *superuacaneus*, a quasi technical term meaning 'superfluous to requirements' (*OLD* s.v.1); here the *uacuus* element has particular witty point, as in the context of the poem, the body of the transformed poet cannot be buried and any tomb would be empty (see West here).

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